

MICHIGAN PUBLIC SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS AND THE STATE
LEGISLATURE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE SUPERINTENDENTS'
UNDERSTANDING OF, AND PARTICIPATION IN, THE
LEGISLATIVE POLICY MAKING PROCESS

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ABSTRACT

MICHIGAN PUBLIC SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS AND THE STATE LEGISLATURE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE SUPERINTENDENTS' UNDERSTANDING OF, AND PARTICIPATION IN, THE LEGISLATIVE POLICY MAKING PROCESS

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Statement of the Problem

In recent years, the role of the state legislature in educational policy-making has become increasingly visible and significant. The rising cost of education and pressure to shift part of the cost from local property taxes to other forms of taxation, wide disparity of resources for education in the various local school districts, the increased mobility of population within and among the states, and dissatisfaction with the quality of education are among the reasons.

The purpose of the study was to determine the understanding which Michigan public school superintendents have of the policy-making process of the Michigan Legislature, the frequency with which the superintendents use the various tactics and techniques available in their efforts to influence educational legislation, and whether there is a relationship between their understanding of the policy-making process of the Michigan Legislature and the frequency with which they use the various influential behaviors.

Design of the Study

The sources of data for this study were a group of randomly selected Michigan public school superintendents and the state representative and senator identified as the principal legislative representatives of his school district by each superintendent who had been in position during the entire period studied.

Three instruments were constructed to collect the required data: Legislative Decision Making Inventory (LDMI), Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form), and Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form).

Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were computed to determine the relationships between the knowledge and influential behavior variables considered. All correlation coefficients were tested by making a z or t-test using the .10 level of significance and the appropriate degrees of freedom.

Findings

The data suggest that:

1. Michigan school superintendents are deficient in their understanding of the policy-making process in the state legislature. Aspects of the process considered important for them to know are not understood by many.

2. The superintendents, as a group, are not highly organized or systematic in their efforts to influence

educational legislation. Many superintendents make little effort to become involved in the legislative policy-making process.

3. Superintendents prefer working through intermediaries to personal contact with legislators. Discussing legislative topics with other educators and board members, and attending meetings at which legislative topics are discussed are the most frequently used tactics. In their direct contact with legislators, letters are the favored means of communication.

4. Few superintendents are asked by the Department of Education to express their views on educational legislation.

5. Most superintendents have little, if any, contact with the governor or his staff regarding educational legislation.

6. Although some communication regarding educational legislation takes place between superintendents and their state professional associations, not all superintendents are asked for, or offer, their views.

7. State legislators perceive the superintendents as making little use of the various tactics and techniques in an effort to inform and influence them regarding educational legislation.

8. There is no significant relationship between the superintendents' level of understanding of the legislative decision-making process and the frequency with which they

use the various tactics and techniques available in their attempts to influence educational legislation.

9. There is no significant relationship between the superintendents' level of understanding of the legislative decision-making process and the frequency with which they use the various tactics and techniques available to influence the legislators representing their school districts, as perceived by those legislators.

10. There is a significant positive relationship between the frequency with which superintendents use techniques to influence legislators and the legislators' perception of this use.

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Chapter 1

THE PROBLEM

Public education has traditionally been considered a function of the several states as derived from interpretation of the Tenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution. The history of the authority and legality of the control over public schools by the several states is well accepted and established. As Usdan stated:

... It must be remembered that state responsibility for education is firmly imbedded in state constitutions, national traditions, and court decisions. The power of state legislatures over public education is plenary, except as limited by the federal or state constitutions. A state legislature can pass any statute or take any action relating to public education which is not expressly forbidden by the federal or state constitution. A school district, its board members, and its administrators are legally agents of the state legislature.¹

In most states the legislature is required by state constitution to establish and maintain a system of free public education. Michigan is no exception; the constitution states it thus:

The legislature shall maintain and support a system of free public elementary and secondary schools as defined by law. Every school district shall provide for

¹Michael D. Usdan, The Political Power of Education in New York State (New York: Institute of Administrative Research, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963), p. 9.

the education of its pupils without discrimination as to religion, creed, race, color or national origin.²

The phrase "as defined by law" assures the legislature continuing control since it is the legislature which adopts the laws which define what public education shall be.

Although a state responsibility, early state legislatures generally elected to exercise this duty by creating local school districts and delegating considerable discretionary authority to them. Laws governing education were generally permissive rather than mandatory, and most vital decisions concerning public school policy were made at the local district level. American education was, in effect, a "decentralized, state-authorized, locally functioning undertaking."³

As time passed, however, it became apparent that legislation that was almost entirely permissive left many communities without adequate provision for education. As the society became more complex, as highly urbanized settlements developed throughout the country, as the machine reduced the number of men needed to feed the nation, as society became more industrialized, and as transportation and communication systems decreased the isolation of the rural settlements, it became increasingly difficult for the people in many communities to support schools and the educational needs of the

²Michigan, Constitution of 1963, Article 8, Section 2.

³Harlan L. Hagman, The Administration of American Public Schools (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951), p. 65.

nation.⁴ The states began to assume increased responsibility for the financial support of the public schools, for prescribing basic courses of study to be included in the curriculum, and for establishing requirements for the certification of teachers. Mandatory legislation gradually replaced permissive provisions.

In recent years, the role of the state legislature in educational policy-making has become increasingly visible and significant. Evidence of the trend toward centralization of control within the state was cited by Grieder:

Recent biennial surveys of state educational legislation reveal increasing assumption by the state of educational responsibilities. Three tendencies may be noted:

1. Increased state centralization of control in such matters as textbook adoption, courses of study, teacher tenure and budgetary control.
2. Increased state support of education, reflected in greater appropriations, expanded aid for school plant construction in an increasing number of states, and modification of tax systems.
3. More emphasis on efficient management, as shown by legislation for statewide standards of budgeting and accounting, district reorganization, and pupil transportation.⁵

⁴Keith Goldhammer, "Local Provisions for Education: The Organization and Operation of School Systems and Schools," Emerging Designs for Education: Program, Organization, Operation and Finance, eds. Edgar L. Morphet and David L. Jesser (Denver: Designing Education for the Future Project, 1968), p. 75.

⁵Calvin Grieder, Truman M. Pierce and William E. Rosenstengel, Public School Administration (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1961), p. 8.

Reasons for this continuing shift to state support and control were many and varied, including those put forth by Masters:

The cost of erecting and maintaining physical plants, libraries, and laboratory facilities have increased to a point where very few school districts can meet their needs out of local resources.... Sharp increases in property taxes for city, county, and school purposes have brought great pressures to shift part of the educational costs to other forms of taxation ... the financial resources of school districts in terms of ability to support public schools vary so widely that action at the state level has been required to produce greater equality of educational opportunity ...

In addition to the fiscal problems, the increased mobility of population within and among the states has increased the demands for more uniform standards of education in all districts.... A growing professional consciousness among teachers has been accompanied by greater pressure to standardize and raise formal qualifications for certification.... Finally, federal aid to education ... has increased the responsibilities of state governments, since by federal law the chief state school agency must insure the maintenance of prescribed standards at the local level--as well as distribute the money.⁶

Among those strongly encouraging the states to assume greater responsibility for the support and control of public education was Allen. Addressing the third annual meeting of the Education Commission of the States, Allen, then United States Commissioner of Education, stated:

It is ... imperative that the states give full commitment to a thorough overhaul of their own structure and practices and markedly accelerate their efforts to accomplish such things as strengthening their state education departments, eliminating inefficient school districts, updating school finance patterns, revising and simplifying

⁶Nicholas A. Masters, Robert H. Salisbury and Thomas H. Eliot, State Politics and the Public Schools: An Exploratory Analysis (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), pp. 6-7.

education laws, raising and enforcing educational standards, initiating incentives for better school performance, etc.

... this is an obligation that the states cannot escape both to maintain the power of their position and to function effectively as partners in a properly balanced system of federalism in education.⁷

In Michigan, the increasing role of the state legislature in education is apparent. During the decade of the 60's, the Michigan Legislature mandated statewide teacher tenure; gave public school employees the right to negotiate regarding wages, hours and conditions of employment; ordered the state's largest school system to decentralize and prodded the smaller systems to consolidate. As the decade drew to a close, it was meeting in special session to consider proposals for sweeping changes in education recommended by Governor William G. Milliken and The Governor's Commission on Education Reform, namely:

1. Reorganization of the state's educational structure at the state, intermediate, and local school district levels to make it more directly responsive to the governor and legislature.

2. State determination of basic operating expenditure requirements for elementary-secondary public education.

3. State responsibility for raising the revenues required to support the operating costs of elementary-secondary public education.

⁷James E. Allen, Jr., "New Impact for the Federal Partner," Compact, August, 1969, p. 48.

4. Establishment of a statewide system for assessing and evaluating educational achievement.

With 2,164,386 public school pupils from kindergarten through grade twelve, and a state school aid budget of nearly \$900,000,000,⁸ it seemed clear that in Michigan education had become one of state government's most important functions.

NEED FOR THE STUDY

Until recently research in the politics of public education has been generally neglected. However, with the increasing role of government in public education, educators and social scientists are beginning to turn their attention to the politics of the educational policy-making process.

Although there is a growing list of studies that may in time permit a better understanding of the politics of education, additional research is needed, as Kimbrough made clear:

... anyone familiar with the complex process of establishing educational policies appreciates the need for additional research. Knowledge is needed both about the process of decision-making and the ways of dealing with the elements of the process in the improvement of education.

Much research is needed for the development of a concept of political leadership in education.⁹

⁸Information obtained from the Legislative Fiscal Agency, Lansing. Figures are for the 1969-70 school year.

⁹Ralph B. Kimbrough, Political Power and Educational Decision Making (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1964), p. 292.

The role of the local school administrator in the educational decision-making process at the state level was identified by Wiley as a subject particularly in need of further study. Literature on the topic, he reported, was "conspicuous by its absence."¹⁰

The focus of this study is the local school superintendent and the educational policy-making process in the state legislature. State level educational policy decisions, particularly decisions requiring new taxes or new programs, usually require some legislative action and thus whenever policy decisions are to be made (or blocked), the legislature cannot be by-passed.¹¹

Previous studies on education and state government have focused on legislative prescription of the curriculum, educational policy-making in selected states, the influence of organized interest groups, and case studies of particular bills. Many have concluded that though education is political (that schools and politics do mix), local school superintendents generally attempt to exert little influence upon educational legislation, avoiding involvement in even those legislative decisions which vitally affect their programs. Lack of understanding of the legislative process is

¹⁰Eldon L. Wiley, "A Study of the Role of the School Administrator in State-Level Politics" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1966), p. 22.

¹¹Albert E. Starkey, "State Level Educational Decision-Making in Texas" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, The University of Texas, 1966), p. 63.

frequently suggested as a major reason for this failure on the part of superintendents to develop effective approaches to political decision-makers. However, though these studies emphasize the need for school superintendents to understand the workings of the legislature, and to participate in the policy-making process, they have not assessed the extent of the knowledge superintendents generally hold regarding the legislative process, nor demonstrated that understanding how the legislature works really makes a difference.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to: (1) estimate the relationship between the types of behavior engaged in by Michigan public school superintendents in an effort to influence educational decisions which are made by the Michigan Legislature and the understanding which they have of the legislative decision-making process, and (2) estimate the degree of congruence between their stated influential behavior with respect to the members of the legislature representing their school district and the perceived influential behavior experienced by those legislators.

OBJECTIVES

Objectives provide a guide for an organized approach to a research project. This study has four major objectives:

1. To determine the relative level of understanding which Michigan public school superintendents have of those aspects of the legislative decision-making process deemed important for them to know.

2. To determine the frequency with which Michigan public school superintendents use the various methods and tactics available in their attempts to influence educational legislation.

3. To determine the frequency with which Michigan public school superintendents use the various methods and tactics available to influence the legislators representing their school districts, as perceived by those legislators.

4. To estimate the relationship between the reported influential behavior of the superintendent, the superintendent's relative level of understanding of the legislative process, and the superintendent's attempts to influence the legislators representing his school district, as perceived by those legislators.

HYPOTHESES TO BE TESTED

The relationship between the understanding which Michigan public school superintendents have of the legislative decision-making process and the types of behavior engaged in by the superintendents in an effort to influence educational decisions which are made by the Michigan Legislature is the issue to be explored in this thesis.

Since Milbrath¹² and DeVries¹³ concluded that the tactics and techniques of lobbying can be grouped into three broad categories: (1) direct personal communication, (2) communication through intermediaries, and (3) efforts to keep channels of communication open,¹⁴ the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form) and the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form) were specifically designed to include a series of questions reflecting each of the three categories.¹⁵

Ho₁: There is no significant relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and behavior as reported on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form).

Ho_{1a}: There is no significant relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and the superintendents' reported direct personal communication with members of the legislature.

Ho_{1b}: There is no significant relationship

¹²Lester W. Milbrath, "Lobbying as a Communication Process," Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring, 1960, pp. 32-53.

¹³Walter D. DeVries, "The Michigan Lobbyist: A Study of the Bases and Perceptions of Effectiveness" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1960), pp. 142-209.

¹⁴Milbrath called this category "opening communication channels"; De Vries called it "achieving and maintaining access."

¹⁵See Appendixes E and I.

between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and the superintendents' reported communication with members of the legislature through intermediaries.

Ho_{1c}: There is no significant relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and the superintendents' reported efforts to keep channels of communication open with members of the legislature.

Ho₂: There is no significant relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and behavior as reported on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form).

Ho_{2a}: There is no significant relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and the superintendents' personal communication with members of the legislature representing their school districts, as perceived by those legislators.

Ho_{2b}: There is no significant relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and the superintendents' communication with members of the legislature through intermediaries, as perceived by the legislators representing their school districts.

Ho_{2c}: There is no significant relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making

Inventory and the superintendents' efforts to keep channels of communication open with the legislators representing their school districts, as perceived by those legislators.

Ho₃: There is no significant relationship between behavior as reported on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form) and behavior as reported on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form).

Ho_{3a}: There is no significant relationship between the superintendents' reported direct personal communication with the legislators representing their school districts, and the superintendents' direct personal communication as perceived by those legislators.

Ho_{3b}: There is no significant relationship between the superintendents' reported communication through intermediaries with members of the legislature representing their school districts, and the superintendents' communication as perceived by those legislators.

Ho_{3c}: There is no significant relationship between the superintendents' reported efforts to keep open channels of communication with members of the legislature representing their districts, and the superintendents' efforts as perceived by those legislators.

DELIMINATIONS OF THE STUDY

1. This study deals only with Michigan public school superintendents and the decision-making process of the Michigan Legislature. Although it is recognized that others outside of Michigan may see similarities in their own situation, the population reported here is a fixed population and generalizations can only be made to Michigan.

The temptation to talk about state legislatures collectively is inescapable. All legislatures pass laws, respond to and resist interest groups, party leaders, governors, bureaucrats, and others who urge the approval or rejection of particular measures.¹⁶ Yet, as Lockard makes clear, the differences among state legislatures are striking:

Legislatures reflect different sets of political and social forces, traditions, and practices. The legislature is always the focus of the law-making process, but there is nothing inevitable about the character of the demands made, the way in which they are made, or about the kinds of bargaining and maneuvering in response to them. The questions posed, and ways of seeking solutions, the distribution of power within the legislature vary greatly from state to state.¹⁷

And, since each state has its own public school system, the process of making educational decisions at the state level varies from state to state.¹⁸

¹⁶Duane Lockard, The Politics of State and Local Government (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963), pp. 272-273.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Emanuel Hurwitz, Jr., "The Illinois Educational Decision-Making System: Some Predictions and An Analysis"

How can one analyze the involvement of public school superintendents in the educational policy-making process of the state legislature if each of the fifty states has a different pattern of educational decision-making, and if the legislative policy-making process varies from state to state? One alternative is to study and report each state separately on a state by state basis. Another, until information on all of the states is complete and readily available, is to concentrate sufficiently on a few states so that in time it may be possible to evaluate generalizations about local school superintendents and state legislatures in general--for such generalizations will be offered, whatever the state of our knowledge.

2. This investigation includes only those Michigan public school districts which are not represented at the legislature by registered legislative agents employed exclusively by the district. Therefore, the results of this study are not necessarily generalizable to the Detroit, Flint, Garden City, and Grand Rapids public school districts.

3. This study is concerned only with the lawmaking process in the Michigan Legislature. Lawmaking, defined as the passing of statutes by a legislative body, is one manifestation of public policy. Public policy can also emanate from the executive and judicial branches, however these

(unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University, 1966), p. 5; see also Starkey, "State Level Educational Decision Making in Texas," p. 8.

expressions of public policy are outside the scope of this investigation.

4. This study is limited to those aspects of the process for introduction, consideration, and enactment of a legislative bill deemed important for Michigan public school superintendents to know.

5. This study deals only with the lawmaking process during 1970, and attempts by superintendents to influence educational decisions of the legislature during the same year.

6. This study is limited by the degree to which the instruments are understood by the respondents, and by the accuracy of their response to them.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following terms are defined so there will be common understanding among readers:

Public school superintendent: The chief administrative officer employed by the board of education of a K-12 school district which is classified, organized, regulated and maintained under provisions of Act 269, P.A. 1955, as amended (otherwise known as the School Code of 1955).

Legislature: The elected body, consisting of a House of Representatives and a Senate, that engages in the function of proposing, deliberating and deciding about public policy.

Legislator: A member of the legislature.

Legislation: Any matter for decision that requires the attention and consent of the legislature and governor and takes the form of law when adopted.

Educational legislation: Legislation that has an impact on aspects of the programs of K-12 public school districts.

Legislative decision-making process: The total act of the legislature in initiating, considering, and enacting of new public policies in legal form.

Decision-making and policy-making, and decision-maker and policy-maker are considered synonymous.

Influence: To persuade or guide legislative action.¹⁹

Influential behavior: Efforts to influence, as described by the Influential Behavior Inventory.

Reported influential behavior: Response to the items on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form).

Perceived influential behavior: Response to the items on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form).

Level of understanding: The number of correct answers on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory.

LMDI: Legislative Decision Making Inventory.

¹⁹Charles F. Niess, "A Study of Some Forces Which Tend to Influence State Legislators in Decisions on Education Legislation" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Colorado State College, 1962), p. 10.

Congruence: The similarity between the response of the superintendents to the items on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form) and the response of the legislators representing those school districts to the corresponding items on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form).

ASSUMPTIONS

The following basic assumptions underlie this study:

1. Although many vital decisions concerning public school policy will continue to be made at the local district level, based on authority delegated by the state, the state legislature is assuming an increasingly active role in educational policy-making.
2. Legislators need, and seek, factual information on which to base decisions regarding educational policy questions.
3. Michigan legislators accept the public school superintendent as a knowledgeable source of information regarding the effects of educational legislation upon his school district. This assumption is supported by Bedore's findings that Michigan legislators most often reported local school superintendents and board members as credible informants regarding the local effects of state financial support.²⁰

²⁰Clifford J. Bedore, Jr., "Legislators' Reported Information Sources for Educational Legislation" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1968) p. 12.

4. The extensive commitment of virtually all groups within society to the maintenance of a system of public education assures easy access on the part of local school superintendents to their representatives in the legislature.

5. Educational bills face the same formalities of the legislative process as any other group of bills: introduction, referral to committee, recommendation, floor debate and vote, repetition of these steps in the other house, negotiations by conference committee if necessary, and signature of the governor.

6. The instruments will be understood, the participants will respond as they believe the situation to be, and their responses will describe the situation as it does in fact exist.

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

In Chapter 1, the purpose, objectives and hypotheses were stated. The scope and limitations of the study were briefly outlined, and terms defined.

Chapter 2, which is a selected review of the literature, is divided into three sections. The first discusses the need for superintendents to become involved in the legislative policy-making process. The superintendents' potential for access to the legislative decision-makers is explored in the second. The third considers ways in which superintendents might participate in the legislative decision-making process and the extent to which they are doing so.

In the third chapter, the method used in conducting the study is presented. The source of data, the procedure used in collecting the data, and the method of presenting the data are discussed.

In Chapter 4, the data are analyzed. The summary and conclusions, as well as recommendations and implications for further research, are presented in Chapter 5.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

The focus of this research study was public school superintendent involvement in the legislative decision-making process. Specifically, the study sought to determine whether there is a relationship between the types of behavior engaged in by Michigan public school superintendents in an effort to influence educational decisions which are made by the Michigan Legislature and the understanding which they have of the legislative decision-making process. In order to provide a foundation on which to build the study, the review of literature for this study concentrated on: (1) the need for superintendents to become involved in the legislative policy-making process, (2) the superintendents' potential for access to the legislative decision-makers, and (3) the general nature and extent of the superintendents' participation in the legislative decision-making process.

NEED TO BECOME INVOLVED IN LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

Numerous educational proposals are considered by legislators each year, and many of them are passed into law.

Although some are relatively minor in nature, intended to correct or clarify existing law, others control significantly what educators can do:

(Legislators) control the purse strings of the principal sources of financial support. They frame the limits of local school board actions. They ... facilitate or stymie educational change. They ... initiate new educational programs and alter or abolish existing programs. They establish priorities in the use of public resources. All permanent progress in the field of education depends fundamentally on their decisions.¹

The sources of these proposals and programs are many and varied, as Miller makes clear:

If education was of special concern during the election campaign, a governor may have made certain public commitments with respect to increased support of education generally or to special features of education, and his office will be one source of proposed legislation. State teachers' associations, state associations of school administrators, state school board associations, probably all have committees on school legislation and will have specific proposals to be advanced for legislative consideration. They will also be prepared to oppose some kinds of legislation. Some organizations may seek to enhance patriotic fervor by legislative requirements or restrictions on courses to be taught or materials to be used. News media may seek the requirements that certain reports and information be published. The variety of possibilities is endless. The state legislature is the happy hunting ground for all such interests in that it is the real point of legal control of education and it is accessible to the variety of groups of citizens.²

With direct participation by the state legislature in educational policy-making on the increase, the need for

¹Forrest Rozzell, "The Politics of Education: To Lobby or Not to Lobby" (paper read at the American Association of School Administrators convention, February, 1968, Atlantic City, New Jersey), p. 6.

²Van Miller, The Public Administration of American School Systems (New York: Macmillan, 1965), pp. 119-120.

educators to develop effective approaches to the political decision-makers has likewise increased. Carr's admonition, though offered forty years ago, is particularly appropriate today:

Every time a state legislature convenes, events are likely to occur which will profoundly effect education in that state for many years to come. The encouragement of wise school legislation should therefore be regarded as a legitimate responsibility by every school board member and as a professional responsibility by every teacher and every teachers organization.³

On the one hand, legislators need information on which to base decisions regarding the educational proposals they are asked to decide. "The quality of a legislator's vote can hardly be better than the quality of the information he possesses concerning the issue at hand."⁴ On the other, educators must compete within the legislative arena for the attention and support of the legislators. Every major decision involves choices between or among alternatives, legislative bodies do not operate either in a vacuum or a sterile environment:

Those concerned with changing the pattern of education or with introducing major innovations (which normally involve increased expenditures) are compelled to negotiate with political officials who are pressured by other interests that desire other goals--such as

³William G. Carr, "School Legislation as a Factor in Producing Good Schools," American School Board Journal, December, 1930, p. 37.

⁴Philip S. Wilder, Jr. and Karl O'Lessker, Introduction to Indiana Government and Politics (Indianapolis: Indiana Sesquicentennial Commission, 1967), p. 86.

increased expenditures for mental health or reduction in taxes.⁵

This is particularly true with regard to financial support. Just as hard pressed school districts have turned to the state for greater assistance, so, too, have other agencies and groups.

Both--furnishing information and competing for scarce resources--are considered by students of educational policy-making to be important aspects of the "encouragement of wise school legislation":

One of the inescapable responsibilities of the school administrator is to provide legislators with first-hand facts and reliable arguments upon which sound legislative decisions can be made.⁶

... educators should recognize that they have the duty to engage in political activity for gaining resource allocations that will be educationally productive.⁷

Legislators Seek Information Regarding Education

In his study of the search process of the Education Committee of the California Legislature, Lowery found that legislators generally recognized their limitations in the area

⁵Nicholas A. Masters, Robert H. Salisbury, and Thomas H. Eliot, State Politics and the Public Schools: An Exploratory Analysis (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), p. 4.

⁶Rozzell, op. cit., p. 7.

⁷W. W. Wayson, "Political Concepts and the Development of Educational Administrators" (paper read at the conference on "Designs for Incorporating Concepts from Social Sciences into Preparatory Programs for Educational Administrators," sponsored by the University Council for Educational Administration, March, 1967, Columbus, Ohio), p. 14.

of education and sought information regarding education questions from sources they considered to be reliable:

Legislators, although being generally intelligent and perceptive men, are not well informed about the subtleties of educational problems and issues. Therefore the details, the ramifications, and the full effects of complex educational legislation are not visible to them. Thereby in their decision-making process they generally look beyond their own experiences for data. Typically, they want to know four things:

1. What is the demonstrated need for this legislation?
2. What is the logic of this legislation in meeting the demonstrated need; what are the full effects of this proposal?
3. What are the financial implications of this legislation; how much from whom to whom?
4. What are the political ramifications of this legislation, in the local school districts and in the total legislature.⁸

Since legislators are expected to have a judgment on all matters from livestock disease to minute details of a multi-billion dollar budget, it is not particularly surprising that they should seek information. They cannot, after all, be expected to be thoroughly knowledgeable regarding all legislation coming before them for consideration. Nevertheless, as the legislator is well aware, the penalty for numerous or conspicuous decisions made in ignorance or in neglect of relevant knowledge is a loss of support among his

⁸Leroy R. Lowery, "A Study of the Search Process of the Education Committee of the California State Legislature" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1966), p. 182.

constituency which may result in his abrupt retirement from office at the next election.⁹ Nor is it surprising when one considers that much of the legislator's time is spent on non-legislative work:

(Legislators) are frequently torn, by time pressures and also by the uncertainties of politics, between the many legitimate functions that seek their attention. Their primary function is to legislate, yet the clearly meritorious demands of constituents may severely limit their capacity to do so. The situation is complicated by the fact that the less legitimate requests from constituents may be far more important to success at the polls than careful scrutiny of legislation.¹⁰

There is so much to be done and there are so many conflicting pressures that no legislator can safely rely solely on his own information and vote intelligently. Even when a legislator attempts to specialize in some limited area, "he is literally swamped with undigested material--and has not the time, the inclination or the means to assimilate it."¹¹

As Lowery reported, the information sought by the legislator is of two types: technical information regarding the content of the policy proposal; and political information regarding the specific benefits and disadvantages distributed by the proposal to various citizens and groups, as

⁹Albert E. Starkey, "State Level Educational Decision-Making in Texas" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, The University of Texas, 1966), p. 18.

¹⁰Charles L. Clapp, The Congressman: His Work as He Sees It (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963), pp. 56-57.

¹¹Stephen K. Bailey, Congress Makes a Law (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), p. 62.

well as the probable reaction of citizens and groups to the proposed distribution. If the decisions were left solely to the professional educators, they might be reached on strictly technical grounds. However our form of government requires that decisions have favorable public sentiment, and that they fit the pattern of personnel and materials which can be made available, the time allowable, and the economics and politics of the period. Even though a decision may be technically correct from the standpoint of educators, it will be unworkable if it does not have favorable public sentiment. At the same time, however, a decision that has only favorable public sentiment and is defective technically will be of little value, and may, in fact, have serious consequences:

Some of the most disastrous failures occur because attempts to initiate educational policies are made without factual support.¹²

It is to the educator that legislators must be able to look for information on which to base their decisions:

The increasing demands for the lawmaker to consider a wide variety of legislation and the increasing pressures being exerted on him by special interest groups have made his decisions and the process of making them extremely complicated. Educators with their first-hand knowledge of educational problems are responsible for presenting evidence that will support their views and gain the understanding of the harassed lawmaker.¹³

¹²Ralph B. Kimbrough, Political Power and Educational Decision Making (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1964), p. 278.

¹³Charles F. Niess, "A Study of Some Forces Which Tend to Influence State Legislators in Decisions on Educational Legislation" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Colorado State College, 1962), p. 4.

Unless the legislators are provided imaginative and constructive ideas by professional educators, they will most certainly look to other, less competent sources for information.¹⁴

Competition for Legislative Attention and Support

The world of the legislator is filled with competing interests and conflicting demands. All kinds of organized interest groups and many ad hoc groups formed to fight temporary battles come to the legislature in an effort to influence the outcome of legislation. Commercial and industrial interests, labor unions, ethnic and racial groups, professional organizations, citizens' groups and agencies of the executive branch and of local government--all, from time to time and some continually, attempt by one method or another to exert pressure on the legislature in order to gain special advantages or to protect vested interests:

A major demand on the legislator's time comes from contests between interest groups to which the public pays little attention but which demand considerable time and attention from the legislator for the simple reason that the contestants are so embroiled and embattled that they will not leave the legislator alone.... Their pleas are not stated in terms of relative arguments but are put in terms of public safety, health standards, free enterprise, or fair trade, and the legislator is subject to a drumfire of telegrams, letters, telephone calls, personal pleading, and propaganda on such bills.... Not only does this bring forth vigorous pleas from the (interest group members) in the legislator's district, but a legislator who has no connection with either business soon notices that his colleagues who do have

¹⁴Rozzell, op. cit., p. 7.

connections frequently become unashamed lobbyists within the legislature....¹⁵

It is within this "arena of swirling conflicts among interest groups"¹⁶ that public policy is made.

Public policy is the outgrowth of the process of accommodating the various major interests having a stake in particular issues. In general, the process of policy making is as described by Bailey:

Some people want something from government and build a coalition of influence to get it; other people want something different and build a coalition of influence to block or modify the designs of the first group; strategic and tactical campaigns are fought; constitutional wielders of power determine winners and losers by laws passed and executive and judicial action taken. The process is never-ending. As soon as a governmental decision is made a new dialectic begins.¹⁷

However, to fully understand the process one must recognize that often no clear answer to the competing interests and conflicting demands appears to guide the lawmakers to an unambiguous choice among the several available:

... are constantly dealing with distinctions in shades of gray, not with simple blacks and whites, and ... furthermore, there are many sides--not merely two--to every political question.... Given their particular sets of values, each group has a plausible case. Sometimes the

¹⁵Duane Lockard, The Politics of State and Local Government (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963), p. 283.

¹⁶Duane Lockard, "The State Legislator," State Legislatures in American Politics, ed. Alexander Heard (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 118.

¹⁷Stephen K. Bailey and others, Schoolmen and Politics: A Study of State Aid to Education in the Northeast (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1962), p. 57.

arguments support one side, sometimes the other. Often they balance in the gray area in between.¹⁸

The politics of state educational finance, as Bailey observed, "runs a course similar to the politics of any other controversial issue in a democratic society." Some people want something from government; other people want something different. Frequently the fiercest competition which education must face--particularly for the tax dollar--is with other governmental services:

Education is not the only item on the agenda of a state's budget. At any one point in time, the demands for additional appropriations for highways, welfare, conservation, prisons, police courts, or any of the other responsibilities of state government, may be insistent. The very competition for state money is frequently, at a given time and place, a major depressant upon additional state aid to education. Even when a governor and a legislature are reasonably friendly to the cause of education, the essence of governance is the allocation of resources to a variety of functions of which education is only one. The more sophisticated and insistent the demands for increased state spending for non-educational purposes, the more difficult the problem for the schoolmen and their allies.¹⁹

Evidence that such competition exists within the Michigan legislative arena was offered by veteran Michigan capitol correspondent Longstaff:

Education has been plopped into the center of legislative politics. The topic for years has been on the fringe of politics, always managing to maintain a "Mr. Clean" image and a respect akin to motherhood and patriotism.

¹⁸Charles A. Adrian, Governing Our Fifty States and Their Communities (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1963), p. 121.

¹⁹Bailey and others, Schoolmen and Politics, pp. 50-51.

But the entry into politics was made official by Sen. Charles O. Zollar, R-Benton Harbor, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, when he asserted: "The School-aid bill is the budget balancer this year."

This means that the amount of dollars finally appropriated by the state to assist the operation of public schools from kindergarten through high school will depend on the political forces at play in the Legislature.²⁰

Longstaff then went on to make clear what some of the "political forces" are:

Education has competed for larger and larger amounts of state money to supplement the amounts raised locally from property taxes, and usually won.

But other state programs have been growing, too. Welfare, for instance, has increased its share of state spending by nearly 200 percent since 1963, compared to a 125 percent increase for the K-12 programs.

And right now, the taxpayer is an influence. His groans have reached the ears of some lawmakers in Lansing. He is tired of paying out more and more in taxes, especially during the economic pinch.

And Zollar hit this point squarely when he invited lawmakers to tell him how much they are willing to increase taxes.²¹

In other areas of educational policy-making, educators also face competition from outside groups in securing the attention and support of the legislators. Niess, in his study of forces which influence the Missouri Legislature, found that the legislators frequently perceived non-education groups as being among the most active and influential in the

²⁰Robert H. Longstaff, "Politics Engulfs Question of Michigan Education Appropriations," The Flint (Michigan) Journal, March 22, 1970, p. 51.

²¹Ibid.

area of educational legislation. Approximately 91 percent of the legislators identified the Missouri Farm Bureau as an active lobby in the area of educational legislation; while 94 percent identified the League of Women Voters, and 80 percent identified the Missouri Public Expenditure Survey--a group often referred to by the legislators as a "watchdog" on the tax payers pocketbook--as active. Other groups identified as being active in the area of educational legislation were the State Chamber of Commerce, 83 percent, and the Missouri Farmers Association, 77 percent. Less active, but still influential, were such groups as the Women's Christian Temperance Union, 37 percent, American Legion, 29 percent, and Daughters of the American Revolution, 17 percent.²² Ness, in a similar study in Colorado, found the situation there to be much the same. Approximately 85 percent of the Colorado legislators identified the State Chamber of Commerce as an active lobbying group on educational issues, while 79 percent so identified the Cattlemen's Association, and 70 percent the Colorado Farm Bureau.²³

Recognizing that the legislature has a vital hand in the distribution of important human values in society--to a

²²Niess, "Forces Which Tend to Influence State Legislators in Decisions on Educational Legislation," pp. 31-33.

²³Paul F. Ness, "Forces and Techniques Which Influence Educational Legislation in Colorado" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Colorado State College, 1966), pp. 45-55.

large extent, it decides who gets what from government, and who pays the bill--and that education groups have no assurance that their proposals will be enacted or even considered in a highly competitive political system in which the legislature has taken over the reigns of decision making,²⁴ Bailey concluded that educators must become active participants in the legislative policy-making process.

The future of public education will not be determined by public need alone. It will be determined by those who can translate public need into public policy--by schoolmen in politics.²⁵

Supporting this view is Hurwitz, who predicted that:

The educational decision-making pattern will be one which emphasizes competition for the limited resources of the state.

The increasing costs of education are going to force educators to compete actively for scarce resources in the future.²⁶

ACCESS TO THE LEGISLATIVE DECISION-MAKERS

If educators are to participate effectively in the legislative policy-making process--as educational advisors, as competitors for scarce resources, or both--it is essential

²⁴L. F. Fahey, "The California Legislature and Educational Decision-Making" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Claremont Graduate School and University Center, 1966), p. 186.

²⁵Bailey and others, Schoolmen and Politics, p. 108.

²⁶Emanuel Hurwitz, Jr., "The Illinois Educational Decision-Making System: Some Predictions and an Analysis" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University, 1966), p. 91.

they have the ear of the decision makers:

... power of any kind cannot be reached by a political interest group, or its leaders, without access to one or more key points of decision in the government.... Toward whatever institution of government we observe interest groups operating, the common feature of all their efforts is the attempt to achieve effective access to points of decision.²⁷

Although the legislature does not formally restrict access, access is not just a matter of initiative on the part of the petitioner, mythology to the contrary.²⁸ Some groups achieve highly effective access almost automatically, whereas it is denied to others in spite of their most vigorous efforts. The evidence seems to indicate that educators have potentially greater ease of access to the legislature than most other groups. Masters, for example, found that educators in Missouri, Illinois and Michigan had ready access to the legislature, and generalized his finding to the nation as a whole:

... education groups have a considerable symbolic advantage that virtually insures access.... Moreover, the presence of professional educators in every local community, coupled with the fact that many local superintendents and educators are prominent in their communities and are backed by fairly active and prestigious groups such as the local PTA, League of Women Voters, etc., insured the education groups to which they belong virtually guaranteed access to elected officials who represent these areas in the state legislature.²⁹

²⁷David B. Truman, The Governmental Process (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), p. 264.

²⁸Ibid., pp. 265-266.

²⁹Masters, Salisbury, and Eliot, State Politics and the Public Schools, p. 271.

Somewhat similar findings were reported by Starkey,³⁰ and by Lowery:

Education is an area in which legislators have a high commitment, higher than that generally found in most other legislative areas. This high commitment is partially explained by the fact that legislators have all had personal experiences with the formal educational process. Further, education affects almost every citizen and voter within the state through the highly emotional avenues of children and youth. And finally, education is an area squarely involved in the ferment of our times.³¹

One important determinant of access to the legislative process is the legislator's need for information, and the ability of a group to supply information considered reliable by the legislator.³² The problems faced by the busy legislator as he attempts to cope with the flood of issues and problems that a session involves have been vividly described by Adrian:

The greatest dilemma confronting legislators today lies in a conflict between the need for information and the inability or unwillingness to trust those who possess it. The legislator is a generalist making policy in an age of specialization. With some exceptions, he is an amateur whose best skill is that of reflecting the values and wants of his constituents--values and wants that may be regarded by the experts in particular fields of governmental activity as obstacles to what is regarded in their professional fields as sound policy.

The legislator may wish to be a wise policy maker, but he feels that both the expert lobbyists of various interest groups and the spokesmen for the state's

³⁰Starkey, "State Level Educational Decision Making in Texas," pp. 149-150.

³¹Lowery, "Search Process of the Education Committee of the California State Legislature," p. 182.

³²Truman, op. cit., p. 333.

increasingly skilled bureaucracy are untrustworthy. He sees them as people trying to sell him a "bill of goods." Are they asking for the ultimate? Or are they being reasonable? Is their "bedrock minimum" really a minimum, given the expectations of most citizens? Is the expert, be he a lobbyist or a bureaucrat, properly respectful and understanding of the legislator's difficult task? Is his "expertise" forthrightly presented as a reflection of professional conviction, or is it designed merely to support a particular program or to whitewash administrative errors? The legislator wishes he knew.

The legislator fears that everyone is asking for the moon on a platter, hoping to get at least the platter. But he cannot be sure. How can he tell? Whom can he trust? He does not know. He is so disenchanted with "experts" that he does not even feel sure that the legislature should hire its own to give loyal opinions on what other experts say. Yet all of society is expecting him to take effective action to meet the demands of citizens. His job is a difficult one.³³

Because of the high cost (in time and energy) of gaining all the requisite information and because a legislator must have an eye to the possible political consequences of a wrong choice, the harried legislator looks for someone to give him proper cues, to guide his behavior in areas in which he is not well informed. These cues can help resolve the ambiguity in many decisions he has to make.

Although each legislator is concerned with the general good of the state, he is specifically concerned with the effect of possible state programs on his immediate constituents--the people who elected him in the last election and will decide whether or not to reelect him in the future.³⁴

³³Adrian, Governing Our Fifty States and Their Communities, p. 72.

³⁴Wilder and O'Lessker, Introduction to Indiana Government and Politics, p. 28.

The advantages of access are potentially available to the local school administrator because of a willingness on the part of the legislator to accept him as a credible and useful source of information regarding local effects.

Jennings and Milstein, in a study to determine the sources of information and advice which provide the basis for the legislator's decisions on educational issues, found that the legislators rated educators back home and the people in the district as being the most important sources of influence on their views. By contrast, the education interest groups were virtually bypassed as sources of facts and influence. Based on their findings, the investigators recommended that interest groups get local schoolmen to tell their needs to their legislators.³⁵ Ferguson, in his investigation of legislator's attitudes regarding education in California, New Jersey, Ohio and Tennessee, asked the legislators what sources of advice and information they would trust the most. Here, too, local school officials headed the list.³⁶ Bedore interviewed all members of the Michigan House and Senate Appropriations and Education Committees during 1968 and found that Michigan lawmakers consider local school superintendents

³⁵Robert E. Jennings and Mike M. Milstein, "Educational Policy Making in New York State: Sources of Information and Advice Used by Legislators" (paper read at the American Educational Research Association convention, March, 1970, Minneapolis, Minnesota), pp. 10-17.

³⁶LeRoy C. Ferguson, How State Legislators View the Problem of School Needs (Washington, D.C.: USOE, Cooperative Research Project No. 532 (8166), 1960), pp. 17-19.

and school board members credible sources of information regarding the local effects of proposed educational legislation.³⁷ However, his findings seemed to indicate that local education leaders were taking little advantage of their opportunity to influence education issues. The lawmakers reported very little communication from these local sources on topics other than state financial aid.

NATURE AND EXTENT OF SUPERINTENDENTS' INVOLVEMENT IN LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

Proposals Regarding Superintendents' Involvement

Although there is general agreement among students of educational policy-making that local schoolmen have an important role to play in the legislative decision-making process, and evidence to indicate ready access to the decision-makers, there is considerable uncertainty as to what the nature of their involvement should be:

What is the role of the local school administrator at the state level of decision making in a program for improvement of educational opportunities for boys and girls? Is his role simply to "administer" a program established by other political forces of the state, i.e., legislators, tax lobbyists, etc., or is it to be one of those forces which formulate and execute the program of adequate educational opportunities? Is he to become involved in the decision-making process at the state level? If so, to what degree and with whom?

³⁷Clifford J. Bedore, Jr., "Legislators' Reported Information Sources for Educational Legislation" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1968), p. 82.

Of all the activities by which a school administrator may take part in making decisions of policy at the state level, which are possible for the typical school administrator...?³⁸

Literature on the role of the school administrator in state-level politics is conspicuous by its absence;³⁹ however, numerous courses of action, conflicting and contradictory, have been proposed.

Direct and forceful action by the local superintendent is advocated by Rozzell. He argues:

... there is no alternative to the compelling responsibility of school administrators to lobby.

... "to lobby" means to attempt to influence a legislator or legislators in favor of one's own point of view.

... There are, of course, sinister ways of lobbying; however, the kind of lobbying I am advocating is open, forthright and persistent.⁴⁰

Others oppose the idea of lobbying on the grounds that it is below the dignity of the profession.⁴¹

Anderson,⁴² and Wiley⁴³ recommend group action--believing local superintendents will be most influential if

³⁸Eldon L. Wiley, "A Study of the Role of the School Administrator in State-Level Politics" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, 1966), pp. 1-2.

³⁹Ibid., p. 22.

⁴⁰Rozzell, "The Politics of Education," p. 1.

⁴¹Niess, "Forces Which Tend to Influence State Legislators," p. 6.

⁴²William Anderson, Clara Penniman, and Edward W. Weidner, Government in the Fifty States (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), p. 129.

⁴³Wiley, op. cit., pp. 97-98.

they are represented at the legislature by spokesmen for a strong state-wide professional association. Bedore gave support for this view, reporting that state-wide educational organizations were considered reliable sources of information by Michigan lawmakers.⁴⁴ Sarvis, however, found that in the State of Washington "fragmented bipartisan alliances of educators and legislators are more effective units of legislative influence than are strongly united school forces exerting strong pressure tactics 'against' legislators." Many of the legislators interviewed during the course of his study spoke of the confidence they placed in some educators with whom they had discussed educational problems.⁴⁵ And the initial findings of Jennings and Milstein seemed to "indicate that New York State legislators may not be as open to the blandishments of the education interest groups as they were in the past."⁴⁶ Similarly, Ferguson reported that although legislators in California, New Jersey, Ohio and Tennessee identified educational interest groups as a general class as being one of the most powerful interest groups or lobbies in their respective states, when asked which interest groups were particularly worth listening to, whether or not they happened to be powerful, educational interests ranked

⁴⁴Bedore, loc. cit.

⁴⁵Robert E. Sarvis, "Legislative Specialization: A Study of the Effect of the Legislative Interim Committee on Education" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1968), p. 80.

⁴⁶Jennings and Milstein, op. cit., p. 17.

quite low. "It seems plain," reported Ferguson, "that, particularly in comparison with business, educational groups were not regarded as 'particularly worth listening to' by a very large proportion of the lawmakers in any of the states in our study."⁴⁷

Outright political action as a means of influencing decision makers is also proposed. Tatroe is a case in point:

Next month is primary election time in Michigan. It's time for administrators and board members to make certain that able candidates are competing for legislative district and statewide offices; some school officials should even become candidates.

All of us can be part of the process of urging the best possible candidates to run for office; helping those whom we support with our time, and our money and by getting our friends to do likewise. This type of participation in government may well be one of the better ways to help the children of public schools of this state.⁴⁸

Sharing this view is Bailey:

It is evident that political leadership is the keystone to the arch of state educational finance. Political leadership establishes the effective climate within which intellectual, private interest group, and bureaucratic leadership operates. It is for this reason that schoolmen cannot ignore the ballot box if they wish to advance their causes.⁴⁹

A Chicago newspaper political analyst expanded on this notion when he urged that schoolmen get actively involved in partisan politics. He said that "the needs of education are going to force a new tax structure. For this reason a new revenue

⁴⁷Ferguson, op. cit., pp. 37-42.

⁴⁸Donald O. Tatroe, "It's Time to Participate," Michigan School Board Journal, April, 1970, p. 9.

⁴⁹Bailey and others, Schoolmen and Politics, p. 108.

article must be written with the needs of education in mind.

The political party that takes the leadership in this will

be rewarded.⁵⁰ Lowery in an a posteriori hypothesis, agreed:

... legislators ... will increasingly attempt to become identified with those legislative issues which will receive wide public acclaim and thereby reap the rich political harvest contained therein.

As educational legislation becomes more of a partisan issue and political parties, per se, become more involved in the development and determination of such legislation, groups, such as professional educators, who desire to effect legislation will have to expend their efforts and resources working within the party structure.... Successful candidates will look more and more to the "educational experts" within the ranks of their party for guidance and help in the development of major educational legislation.⁵¹

Kimbrough, however, takes a different view:

The leaders of some school systems deliberately involve schools in a highly partisan form of politics. The observed consequences have not been good; in fact, the results have often been deplorable.

Consequently, the educator would do well to heed with suspicion any suggestion that he attempt to make the schools into Republican Party Schools or Democratic Party Schools. The decision upon this matter requires more research evidence than is now available.⁵²

Professional rather than political activity is recommended by Marsolais:

Professional rather than political activity holds the greatest promise for increasing the educator's influence over educational legislation....

⁵⁰Hurwitz, "Illinois Educational Decision Making System," p. 90.

⁵¹Lowery, "Search Process of the Education Committee of the California State Legislature," p. 191.

⁵²Kimbrough, Political Power and Educational Decision Making, p. 273.

Educators can assist legislators in viewing proposals in the light of what is best for children and youth. Effective performance of this professional responsibility will result in the production of statutes which prescribe justice for schools.

... educators as a whole can best serve their profession by working with committee consultants and legislators (especially authors) to produce good education bills. In the final analysis the best bill wins in compromise situations.⁵³

Toward this end, he urged local schoolmen to:

1. Innovate and participate in attempts by professional associations to influence educational legislation.

2. Respond promptly to requests from professional associations for action concerning legislation.

3. Form and participate in committees of educators to discuss legislative topics.

4. Develop personal contacts with "their" assemblyman and senator. Attempt to become his educational advisor by:

- a. Sending him brief written evaluations of bills.

- b. Describing effects of proposed statutes on district programs.

- c. Inviting him to discuss educational matters with groups of educators.⁵⁴

Marsolais also recommended that educators and professional associations "direct major efforts to improve instructional effectiveness. Much prescriptive legislation results from dissatisfaction with current results."⁵⁵

⁵³Robert J. Marsolais, "Forces Which Produce Educational Legislation in California: An Exploratory Study of the Miller-Unruh Basic Reading Act of 1965" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California, 1969), p. 202.

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 208-209.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 204.

Others stress the importance of working through boards of education and other local citizen groups to generate legislative support.⁵⁶ Dodson made a study of the 1960 session of the Kentucky Legislature and of the 1961 Delegate Assembly of the Kentucky Education Association. Based on questionnaires completed by the members of both groups, he reported a total of fourteen selected procedures that were effective in securing favorable legislation. High on the list was the establishment of citizens' committees in the school districts. According to Dodson, "The development and promotion of a state-wide school legislative program through local committees makes it easier to secure legislative enactment, since legislators are responsive to the wishes of their constituents."⁵⁷ The American Association of School Administrators included among the responsibilities of superintendents:

... (keeping) the board informed about discussions and actions which may affect local policy, whether they are taking place in state and national capitals or in agencies and associations outside the district.

... (encouraging) the board to make its voice heard wherever matters affecting the district's budget and

⁵⁶Worksheets on Legislative Action (Washington, D.C.: Youth Conservation Clearing House, 1950), p. 6.

⁵⁷James M. Dodson, "A Comparative Study and Analysis of Selected Procedures in Achieving Desirable School Legislation" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, 1962), p. 74.

program are under consideration, lest the freedom and strength of local action are lost.⁵⁸

Typifying the uncertainty regarding the proper role for local school administrators in state level decision-making is Conant. In his widely acclaimed book on educational policy-making, Shaping Educational Policy, Conant put forth the following recommendation:

In most states what is required for those interested in improving education is to make their views heard at the state capital, not to get the legislature to enact laws dealing with specific issues (this is just what ought not to happen), but in order to have a strong department of education. What is needed are strong state boards of education, a first-class chief state officer, a well organized state staff, and good support from the legislature.⁵⁹

More recently, however, he had this to say:

... if I were twenty years younger, and had the ideas that I have now, I would go up and sit in Albany as a lobbyist, and see to it that the bills to support public schools and reform teacher education got through the legislature. Political action is what's needed.⁶⁰

Failure of Superintendents to Get Involved

Though seemingly unable to agree on the specific role school superintendents should play in the legislative

⁵⁸American Association of School Administrators, Roles, Responsibilities, Relationships of the School Board, Superintendent and Staff (Washington, D.C.: American Association of School Administrators, 1963), p. 12.

⁵⁹James B. Conant, Shaping Educational Policy (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964), p. 31.

⁶⁰Terry Ferrer, "Conant Revisited," Saturday Review, March 18, 1967, p. 73.

decision-making process, students of educational policy-making are in accord regarding the need for the superintendents to be involved. Since education is a major function of state government, the educator should consider involvement in the production of desirable legislation a primary professional responsibility:

Among the major responsibilities reposing on the school superintendent today are those of shaping public policy to accommodate the peculiar needs of education and the securing of sufficient public support to bring the policy into reality. The process involved in achieving both objectives are wholly political in character. In a society increasingly characterized by powerful and competing forces, the marshalling of political power to achieve educational objectives is crucial.⁶¹

The evidence, however, seems to indicate that the educators have made very little effort to do so.

Marty's research revealed a "leave others do it for us" attitude among secondary school administrators. This group responded that the state department of education should be responsible for informing elected officials about school problems and for initiating legislation when necessary.⁶² Marsolais stated that most administrators seem content to permit the few active members of their professional

⁶¹Archie R. Dykes, "The Dilemma of the School Superintendent" (paper presented at the 29th Annual Meeting of the National School Boards Association, Miami Beach, Florida, April 13, 1969), p. 5.

⁶²Ralph E. Marty, "State Departments of Education and Their Influence on Secondary School Curriculum Improvement" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California, 1958), p. 40.

association to perform this duty for them.⁶³ Parrish reported that superintendents avoid involvement in legislative decisions, even those which vitally affect their programs. In his study of the behavior and practices of Oklahoma school superintendents in communicating with governmental officials, he found little communication from local superintendents to state officials regarding legislation even though the Oklahoma Legislature was in session at the time and considering many bills pertaining to the public schools.⁶⁴ Following a study in California, Lowery reported similar findings.⁶⁵ Few California superintendents submitted evaluations of the Miller-Unruh Basic Reading proposal even though requested to do so by their professional association. Even provisions which had great impact on local school programs elicited little or no correspondence.⁶⁶ Ness, in his study of the forces which attempt to influence the decisions of the Colorado Legislature, reported that approximately two-thirds of the legislators considered the Colorado Association of School Administrators as being non-active in the area of educational lobbying. The legislators reported that they

⁶³Marsolais, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

⁶⁴Lonny R. Parrish, "A Study of the Communication Behavior of the Local Superintendent of Schools" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Oklahoma Graduate College, 1968), pp. 49-50.

⁶⁵Lowery, "Search Process of the Education Committee of the California State Legislature," pp. 99-100.

⁶⁶Marsolais, op. cit., p. 195.

had little personal contact with school districts on the subject of educational legislation, and also received few letters or telephone calls.⁶⁷

Failure on the part of school administrators to participate in the development of educational legislation is not without its consequences. Studies in a number of states indicate instances where legislation concerning the administration of public schools or teacher welfare was defeated or difficult in passage because educators were not only unaware of the process of educational policy-making but were also reluctant to "play politics" in attempting to achieve their objectives.⁶⁸ A related consequence is the passage of legislation not in the best interest of educators or education:

Politicians get involved in education obviously--no one can dispute their right and, really, their responsibility to do so. Obviously there have been times when unenlightened politicians have made a mess of education.

⁶⁷Ness, "Forces and Techniques Which Influence Educational Legislation in Colorado," pp. 42-45.

⁶⁸S. J. Mantel, Jr., "The Politics of Public Education in Vermont" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1951).

Edward E. Battles, "Preparing, Promoting and Enacting School Legislation in Oklahoma" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1949).

Victor O. Hornbostel, "The Formulation of State Public School Finance Policy in Wisconsin, 1927 to 1951" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1954).

John S. Johnson, "Leadership Process in the Development of Missouri School Reorganization Law" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Missouri, 1953).

This should not happen if educators played the political role that they should.⁶⁹

In an a posteriori hypothesis, Marsolais argued that failure on the part of educators to influence educational legislation has been a major factor in the increase in educational decision-making by the legislature. Lacking informed guidance from educators on complex and costly education proposals, legislators are increasingly employing their own educational advisors.⁷⁰ Similarly, the American Association of School Administrators called attention to the fact that the failure to participate in the policy-making process was resulting in a steady diminishing of local control:

The state and national governments, and to a minor extent nongovernmental agencies are providing a growing portion of the money used by local school districts, and their influence on expenditures is increasing. Local school boards have tended to focus attention primarily on local problems, including problems of school finance. Other groups with special interests have too often had the field to themselves in presenting educational and financial needs or programs before state legislatures and other state and national agencies. The result has been a steady diminishing of local control over important budgetary and the consequent educational decisions.⁷¹

Support for this view comes from outside the field of education:

⁶⁹Lt. Governor James Goetz, Minnesota (excerpt from address to the 1967 convention of the National Education Association), Phi Delta Kappan, February, 1968, p. 340.

⁷⁰Marsolais, "Forces Which Produce Educational Legislation in California," p. 200.

⁷¹American Association of School Administrators, School Board, Superintendent and Staff, p. 6.

One Congressman observed in the Harvard Business School Bulletin that often important segments of the economy fail to participate fully in the process of enlightening legislators, with the result that their fortunes suffer. Addressing himself to small businessmen, he observed that they were facing a critical period, beset by many problems but "what we know about these problems, with a few notable exceptions, comes from practically every source but the businessman himself...."⁷²

Failure of educators to participate in the "encouragement of wise school legislation" is widely attributed to their lack of political know how and naivete regarding the dynamics of public policy determination--in short, a general lack of understanding of the process of educational policy-making. Starkey, following a study of state level educational decision-making in Texas, concluded that:

The main drawback with the public school lobby has been political naivete. In Texas, the teacher is noted for his lack of political sophistication, and failure or refusal to recognize the realities of politics.⁷³

Likewise, James,⁷⁴ Crane,⁷⁵ Walker,⁷⁶ and Grieder⁷⁷ present

⁷²Clapp, The Congressman, pp. 201-202.

⁷³Starkey, "State Level Educational Decision Making in Texas," p. 150.

⁷⁴H. Thomas James, "Schools are in Politics," The Nations Schools, October, 1958, pp. 53-55.

⁷⁵Wilder Crane, Jr., "Politics of Education," Education Forum, January, 1959, pp. 201-204.

⁷⁶Robert A. Walker, "Political Science and the Educator," Educational Leadership, May, 1956, pp. 474-479.

⁷⁷Calvin Grieder, Truman M. Pierce, and William E. Rosenstengel, Public School Administration (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1961), pp. 137-138.

evidence that educators are generally unaware of the political facts of life.

In a study of the efforts of schoolmen in eight New England states to achieve educational progress through political activity, Bailey found that professional educators have too often been indifferent or inept in regard to techniques of participating successfully in public affairs.⁷⁸ Wayson is even more harsh in his criticism. Educators, he stated:

... tend toward idealism and naivete about how political decisions are made.... They tend to be apathetic about policy development, and they leave important policy considerations to others. They are uncomfortable when confronted with conflict. Above all, they have taken too literally the statement that education should be free of politics. To act as though education is free of politics (and ought to be) is to let every member of society except educators determine the allocation of resources to education.⁷⁹

The problem is not new, as Azzarelli makes clear:

Spokesmen of the past decade have focused their attention on the educator's understanding of the political process by which policy concerning the public schools is promulgated in the state legislatures. They pointed out that professional educators have ignored the political process by which critical decisions about education are made. Preoccupied with a self imposed isolation and administrative techniques they failed to recognize that political decisions are consummated only after broad consensus has been achieved on a problem, never before. To make matters even worse, they often failed to provide the support that education needed in competing against

⁷⁸Bailey and others, Schoolmen and Politics.

⁷⁹Wayson, "Political Concepts and the Development of Educational Administrators," p. 12.

other pressing demands of society in the larger arena when political decisions were made.⁸⁰

Evidence of the failure on the part of educators to "recognize that political decisions are consummated only after broad consensus has been achieved on a problem" can also be found in the actions of many who do seek to influence the legislative policy decisions. This was noted by Pierce:

(Politicians) are distressed by failure on the part of educators to understand the political processes and to recognize that decisions affecting education by governors and legislatures must be weighed politically as well as educationally.⁸¹

Legislators questioned by Wiley perceived local superintendents as being unwilling to accept anything less than his total educational proposal.⁸² Fahey reported that in response to the question, "What is the major obstacle confronting the legislature in policy-making with respect to education?", virtually all members of the Education Committee of the California Legislature answered, "the professional schoolman." One prominent State Senator spoke for many of the respondents, according to Fahey, when he said the professional schoolmen compose a "closed fraternity, they have their own

⁸⁰J. J. Azzarelli, "Decision Making and the Politics of Public Education in New York State: A Research Plan" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1962), p. 2.

⁸¹Wendell H. Pierce, "The Politics of Education," Phi Delta Kappan, February, 1968, p. 335.

⁸²Wiley, "Role of the School Administrator in State-Level Politics," p. 66.

jargon, they speak a few words in educationese and expect us to follow blindly." The chairman of the Assembly Education Committee described the professional schoolmen at all levels in the educational system as major obstacles to a good educational program. They are, he said, preoccupied with self interest and empire building. A third respondent "summed up the views held by most members of the Senate and Assembly Education Committees when he said that 'the narrow self interest of the professional schoolmen, their superior and holier-than-thou attitudes, and their condescending approach to Legislators,' have the negative effect of creating animosity between schoolmen and the legislature."⁸³ Lowery also reported that collectively, professional educators, especially administrators, had a "terrible image" in terms of testimony before the Education Committees of the California Legislature and in "lobbying discussions" with individual legislators. One lawmaker said of administrators, "They're parochial. They can't seem to see beyond education in their own local districts. We have got to consider the needs of the whole state in all areas."⁸⁴

Since education is surely one of the most genuinely political undertakings in American life,⁸⁵ the need of

⁸³Fahey, "California Legislature and Educational Decision-Making," p. 58.

⁸⁴Lowery, "Search Process of the Education Committee of the California State Legislature," p. 188.

⁸⁵Bailey and others, Schoolmen and Politics, p. 6.

educators for more assistance in developing effective approaches to political decision makers is quite apparent. "A single important need of education is to develop the covert orientation of policy-makers to education needs. Reciprocally, legislative policy-makers need the sharpened understanding of educational leaders in politics."⁸⁶

SUMMARY

Since the early 1930's, the education profession has been urged to become more sophisticated regarding the policy-making process. Early spokesmen included Granrud,⁸⁷ Carr,⁸⁸ Judd,⁸⁹ and Staffebach,⁹⁰ to name a few. Students of educational policy-making recognized that if education were to advance, the state legislature would need to be informed and advised on school problems. However, educators generally have practiced considerable restraint in approaching lawmakers with their petitions, even though they have recognized

⁸⁶Sarvis, "Legislative Specialization," p. 5.

⁸⁷John Granrud, The Organization and Objectives of State Teachers Association (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1926).

⁸⁸Carr, "School Legislation as a Factor in Producing Good Schools."

⁸⁹C. H. Judd, "Education and Politics," Educational Record, July, 1931, p. 253.

⁹⁰Elmer H. Staffebach, "Policy Making by Teacher's Organizations: State Associations' Standpoint," The Annals, 1935, p. 182.

that the lawmakers were frequently far behind in their thinking on educational matters.⁹¹ Some educators, motivated by concern over the practice of making educational decisions in a political arena, have even attempted to reverse the trend toward greater involvement by the legislature in educational policy-making. This denial that education is in politics, coupled with the educators' lack of sophistication regarding the legislative decision-making process, are believed by many students of educational policy-making to have hampered the profession's attempts to influence educational legislation and have allowed other forces to assume a major role in the formation of such laws.

Clearly stated or implied in most studies dealing with the role of the legislature in educational policy-making is the proposition that increased knowledge of the legislative decision-making process will concomitantly increase the professional educator's willingness to participate in, and ability to exert an influence on, the legislative policy-making process. Lowery is a case in point. In his report of a study of the California Legislature, he was quite explicit:

The researcher is firmly convinced that it is crucial to the future vitality of public education within California for professional educators to recognize and understand the processes and procedures which are used

⁹¹A. F. Corey and R. H. Strickland, "Legislative Policies and Procedures Used by State Educational Associations" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California, 1956), p. 3.

in the legislative consideration of educational issues.⁹²

Likewise Womack, on the basis of his study of legislation in Tennessee, concluded that those interested in public education need better and more useful techniques of working with legislators, and recommended that studies be made in the area.⁹³ And Harrington, in a list of political guidelines for school administrators, included the following:

Be thoroughly acquainted with the steps of the legislative process such as the stages through which a bill is developed and introduced, how it can be amended, and what can happen when the measure reaches the governor's desk.⁹⁴

Particular plans for the solution of major educational problems may issue full blown and crystal clear in the minds of college professors, lobbyists, superintendents or teachers. But under our American system of government, these plans must usually pass through the legislative gauntlet before they become an official part of state educational policy. What can happen to an idea between the time it is conceived and the time it becomes law is of no little significance to the future of education in the state.⁹⁵

⁹²Lowery, op. cit., p. 192.

⁹³Bob Womack, "The Enactment of a State School Program in Tennessee" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, George Peabody College, Nashville, 1956), p. 232.

⁹⁴John H. Harrington, "Lessons from Legislators," The American School Board Journal, January, 1968, p. 7.

⁹⁵Bailey, Congress Makes a Law, p. viii.

However, though numerous students of educational policy-making have emphasized the need for school administrators to participate in the policy-making process, and have cited lack of understanding of the policy-making process as a major reason for their failure to do so, literature on what superintendents do understand, and the extent to which this understanding affects their behavior and influence is conspicuous by its absence. It has been assumed, not demonstrated, that understanding how the legislature works makes a difference.

Chapter 3

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

This chapter contains a description of the sample; a discussion of the development of the instruments; and an explanation of the procedures used in the collection and analysis of the data.

SOURCE OF THE DATA

The sources of data for this study were:

1. A group of randomly selected Michigan superintendents employed by public school districts offering a program of instruction in kindergarten through twelfth grade.

2. Representatives and senators identified by the superintendents as the principal representatives of their school districts in the Michigan Legislature.

The data for this study were gathered from three questionnaires constructed by the researcher. Two were completed by the superintendents, and one was completed by the legislators.

THE SAMPLE

Of the 528 public school districts in Michigan offering instruction in kindergarten through twelfth grade during calendar year 1970,¹ four were excluded from this study because the board of education of each employed a registered legislative agent to represent that district, exclusively, at the Michigan Legislature.² These districts were excluded because the employment of a registered legislative agent by the district presumably assured that the superintendent would be represented at the legislature, while relieving him of much of the personal effort and involvement that might otherwise be required. Consequently the researcher did not believe the response of the superintendents of these districts to questions regarding their personal attempts to influence educational legislation would be a true indication of those efforts.

Five hundred and eighteen school districts established the population of superintendents from which the sample was selected.³ These districts were listed and then

¹Data obtained from the Michigan Department of Education, Lansing.

²These districts were Detroit Public Schools, Flint Community Schools, Garden City Public Schools, and Grand Rapids Public Schools. Data obtained from the Michigan Department of State, Lansing.

³Six districts were excluded because their superintendents were members of the Board of Directors of the Michigan Association of School Administrators and examined the instruments during the course of participating in the board's decision to officially endorse this project.

grouped into five strata on the basis of student enrollment.⁴ Table 1 gives the strata divisions and the number of school districts in each.

Table 1
Number and Percent of School Districts
in Population, by Stratum

Strata Divisions (Student Enrollment)	Number of Districts	Percent of Total
Under 500	38	07
500 to 999	77	15
1,000 to 1,999	142	27
2,000 to 3,999	137	26
4,000 to 9,999	97	19
10,000 and Over	<u>27</u>	<u>06</u>
	518	100

From this stratified list of public school districts, a proportional stratified sample of sixty-four school districts, approximately 12 percent, was drawn (see Table 2). The table of random numbers found in Games and Klare⁵ was

⁴Data obtained from the Michigan Department of Education, Lansing. Enrollment as of October 2, 1970.

⁵Paul A. Games and George R. Klare, Elementary Statistics: Data Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967), pp. 484-488.

Table 2

Number and Percent of School Districts
Chosen in Each Stratum

Strata Divisions (Student Enrollment)	Number of Districts	Percent of Total
Under 500	4	07
500 to 999	10	15
1,000 to 1,999	17	27
2,000 to 3,999	17	26
4,000 to 9,999	12	19
10,000 and Over	<u>4</u>	<u>06</u>
	64	100

used in the selection process. The superintendents of the districts thus selected constituted the sample used in this study.

Each of the sixty-four superintendents invited to participate was mailed two questionnaires during the course of the study. Sixty, 94 percent, completed and returned both (see Table 3). One superintendent completed only one of the questionnaires,⁶ and two of those invited to participate were dropped from the study when it was learned that they had not been Michigan public school superintendents during the twelve-month period under consideration.

⁶The superintendent completed and returned the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form) but not the Legislative Decision Making Inventory.

Table 3

Number of Superintendents Completing
Questionnaires, by Stratum

Strata Divisions (Student Enrollment)		Number Asked to Complete the Questionnaires	Number Who Completed the Questionnaires
Under	500	4	4
500 to	999	10	10
1,000 to	1,999	17	17
2,000 to	3,999	17	15
4,000 to	9,999	12	10
10,000 and	Over	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
		64	60

Fifty of the superintendents were identified as having been in position during the entire twelve-month period. A questionnaire was mailed to the representative and senator identified by each of these fifty superintendents as the principal representatives of his school district in the Michigan Legislature. A total of one-hundred questionnaires were sent to fifty-four legislators: twenty-one senators and thirty-three representatives. Most of the legislators were identified as a principal representative by more than one superintendent, and several senators were identified by at least four.

A total of seventy-two of the one-hundred questionnaires, 72 percent, were completed and returned by the legislators. Forty were received from senators, and thirty-two from representatives. In view of the demands made on a legislator's time, including questionnaires from interest groups and doctoral candidates, this was considered a good response. Included in the returns were twenty-six pairs of questionnaires, that is, questionnaires were completed by both the representative and the senator identified by twenty-six of the superintendents as the principal representatives of their school districts in the Michigan Legislature. It had been hoped that there would be more pairing of legislative returns, however, as indicated above, the overall response on the part of the legislators was considered good. The somewhat better cooperation on the part of the senators was attributed to the fact the researcher was an employee of the Senate at the time and thus better known by the senators than by the representatives.

INSTRUMENTATION

Three types of data were required for the study:

(1) the knowledge which Michigan public school superintendents had of those aspects of the legislative decision-making process deemed important for them to know, (2) the frequency with which Michigan public school superintendents used the various methods and tactics available in their personal

attempts to influence educational legislation, and (3) the frequency with which Michigan public school superintendents used the various methods and tactics available in their attempts to influence the legislators representing their school districts on educational legislation, as perceived by those legislators.

As there were no known instruments available for the purpose of collecting the required data, three questionnaires were constructed by the researcher for this purpose. The instruments are the (1) Legislative Decision Making Inventory (LDMI), the (2) Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form), and the (3) Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form).

The questionnaire method was chosen for this study for several reasons: (1) it allowed greater coverage in a shorter period of time than would have been possible using personal interviews,⁷ (2) the expense involved in the use of questionnaires was less than would have been required had it been necessary to interview a like number of subjects, and (3) its standardized form insured at least some uniformity of measurement.⁸

⁷Henry L. Smith, An Introduction to Research in Education (Bloomington: Educational Publications, 1959), p. 203.

⁸Claire Selltiz and others, Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: Holt-Dryden Company, 1959), p. 239.

Legislative Decision Making Inventory
(LDMI)⁹

The instrument used to collect the data regarding the knowledge which Michigan public school superintendents had of those aspects of the legislative decision-making process deemed important for them to know was a fifty-two item questionnaire. The first page gave instructions for completing the instrument, asking the respondent to answer each question by drawing a circle around one of the four letters (A B C D) following the item to show the answer he had selected. The four response categories were identified as: A = Very Frequently, B = Often, C = Occasionally, D = Rarely.

As the first step in constructing the instrument, the researcher reviewed the literature regarding state legislatures and the Congress, to determine what the writers in the field generally believed were the most important aspects of the legislative policy-making process. The author also drew on his own experience as Executive Assistant to the Majority Leader, Michigan Senate, as a source of items regarding the decision-making process. A preliminary questionnaire consisting of one-hundred and twenty-five items was the result.

The tentative instrument was given to eight employees of the legislature and executive office known by the researcher to be familiar with the organization of the Michigan

⁹See Appendix N.

Legislature and the process of legislative policy-making. Each was asked to complete the instrument, and to react to the suitability, clarity and accuracy of the items, as well as to the format of the instrument. The instrument was extensively revised on the basis of the reactions and suggestions received. In addition, the responses to each of the items were compared for evidence of disagreement. Where found, the items were rewritten in an effort to clarify their meaning.

The revised instrument was then given to fourteen key non-legislator participants in the legislative policy-making process. Included were aides to the governor, speaker of the house, senate majority leader, senate minority leader and house minority leader; several legislative agents, a Department of Education official; a capitol correspondent for a major Michigan newspaper chain; and the capitol bureau chief for a national wire service. At least three of the group were former Michigan legislators. Each of those invited to participate was asked (1) to complete the questionnaire by circling one of the four response categories for each item, and (2) to indicate whether each item was "very important," "important," or of "little importance" for Michigan public school superintendents to know.¹⁰ Eleven of the fourteen complied.

¹⁰See Appendix J.

When completed, the eleven questionnaires were scored by collapsing the four response categories (very frequently, often, occasionally, rarely) to two--very frequently/often, and occasionally/rarely. Items receiving less than 70 percent agreement on this collapsed two choice scale were eliminated. Also, the opinions of the participants regarding the importance of the individual items were weighted. With "very important" given a 2, "important" a 1, and "little importance" a 0, an item could be given a maximum of twenty-two points if each of the eleven non-legislator participants believed it was very important for superintendents to know. All items receiving a total of eight or less of the possible twenty-two point maximum were eliminated. A few items receiving nine or ten points on the importance scale were also eliminated in order to further reduce the number of items on the instrument. The length of the questionnaire was considered important in securing the cooperation of legislators in the next phase of the development process.

A revised instrument consisting of sixty-four items, each of which had received at least nine points on the importance scale, and for which there had been at least 70 percent agreement on the collapsed two choice answer scale, was given to eighteen members of the leadership of the Michigan House of Representatives and Senate. Each of the legislators invited to participate had been placed in his leadership position by his fellow legislators in the chamber

or his party caucus. The legislative leaders were told that the instrument would be given to a group of school superintendents, and asked to indicate which answer--very frequently, often, occasionally, rarely--should be accepted as correct for each item.¹¹ Eleven of the eighteen legislative leaders responded. Included were legislators from both chambers, and both parties within each chamber.

When the completed questionnaires were received, the four response categories were collapsed to two--very frequently/often, and occasionally/rarely. Items receiving less than 75 percent agreement on the two choice scale were eliminated. The remaining fifty-two items were keyed using the response on the two choice scale considered correct by at least 75 percent of the participating legislative leaders.

Finally, the LDMI was mailed to each superintendent participating in the study. Each was asked to complete and return the questionnaire in the stamped, self addressed envelope provided for that purpose.

The process of statute lawmaking in the Michigan Legislature, as in most legislatures, involves passage of a specific bill by both the House of Representatives and the Senate and approval by the governor, or, alternately, passage by each house by an extraordinary majority notwithstanding the disapproval of the governor.¹² The process for the

¹¹See Appendix K.

¹²See Appendixes P and Q.

consideration and enactment of legislation by the Michigan Legislature might appear to be one of relatively simple and direct dimensions. For example, such a process might be limited to: (1) the gathering of data pertinent to the issue, (2) an analytical evaluation of such data, and (3) the making of an impersonal judgment to pass or reject based solely on the results of the data.

In actual practice this process is far from simple or impersonal. It is most often a complex process involving many subtle relationships. Further, just as each of the fifty state legislatures is a separate and distinct institutionalized group, with its own established way of doing business, so do differences exist between the two houses of the Michigan Legislature. Despite certain common characteristics, each house has a life of its own. Differences in the pattern of operation can also be found among the standing-committees within each house.

The complexity of the legislative process, the differences that exist between houses, and the fact that the history of each bill is unique make it difficult, if not impossible, to generalize precisely regarding the frequency with which the various aspects of the legislative process will occur. This was quite evident in the responses of the key non-legislators and the legislative leaders to the items on the LDMI. Although there was general agreement that an item frequently occurred as described--evidenced by selection

of "very frequently" or "often" as the correct response by 75 percent of the participants--or infrequently occurred--evidenced by selection of "occasionally" or "seldom" by 75 percent of the participants--in only a few instances was one of the choices on the four choice answer scale designated as the correct response to that item by at least 75 percent of the key non-legislators or the legislative leaders.

Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form)¹³

The literature regarding methods and tactics employed by individuals and groups to influence legislation was reviewed by the researcher. A preliminary questionnaire was constructed based on the methods of influence identified in the literature. The instrument consisted of a series of statements about ways in which a school superintendent might become involved in educational decision-making at the state level. Respondents were asked to indicate how frequently they had acted as described during the past twelve-months by drawing a circle around one of the five response categories (0 1-3 4-6 7-9 10-+) following that item. The five response categories were identified on the instruction page as: 0 = Never, 1-3 = One to three times, 4-6 = Four to six times, 7-9 = Seven to nine times, and 10-+ = Ten or more times.

¹³See Appendix D.

Six members of the Board of Directors of the Michigan Association of School Administrators were asked to react to the appropriateness, clarity, and completeness of the instrument. Several suggestions were received and were incorporated into the final form of the instrument.

The Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form) was mailed to the sixty-four superintendents selected at random to participate in the study. Each superintendent was asked to complete and return the questionnaire in the stamped, self addressed envelope provided for that purpose. Each was also asked to furnish the name of "his" representative and senator, the representative and senator the superintendent considered the principal representatives of that school district in the Michigan Legislature. In addition, each was asked how long he had been in his present position.

Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form)¹⁴

The third type of data required for the study was the frequency with which participating public school superintendents used the various methods and tactics available in their attempts to influence the legislators representing their school districts on educational legislation, as perceived by those legislators.

The Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form) was reviewed and items which described efforts by the

¹⁴See Appendix H.

superintendent to influence the legislators representing his school district were identified. These items served as the basis for the construction of the Legislator Form of the instrument. The instrument consisted of a series of statements regarding ways in which a school superintendent might attempt to influence his legislator on educational legislation. Each corresponded with an item on the Superintendent Form. The first page gave instructions for completing the instrument. Respondents were asked to indicate how frequently the superintendent in question had acted as described by each item during the past twelve-months by drawing a circle around one of the five response categories (0 1-3 4-6 7-9 10-+) following that item. The five response categories were identified: 0 = Never, 1-3 = One to three times, 4-6 = Four to six times, 7-9 = Seven to nine times, 10-+ = Ten or more times.

A legislator and several employees of the legislature and executive office were asked to review the instrument, and to react to its clarity and format. Several changes were suggested.

The refined instrument, Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form), was then mailed to each representative and senator identified by a participating superintendent as being "his" representative in the Michigan Legislature. Each legislator was asked to complete and return the questionnaire to the researcher in his capitol office. A self

addressed Inter Department envelope was provided for that purpose.

Initially, the instrument consisted of thirty-six items. Included were questions regarding direct contact by a superintendent with a legislator representing his district as well as questions regarding efforts by the superintendent to influence legislative decisions by working through intermediaries, such as faculty members, district residents, or a professional association. The legislators were asked to respond from their own knowledge to the items based on direct contact with the superintendent, and to indicate what they believed the superintendent had done in the way of working through intermediaries. Early returns revealed that many of the legislators were unwilling to respond to those items not based at least in part on direct contact with the superintendent. Consequently the items which the legislators could not answer from first-hand knowledge were eliminated when a follow-up instrument was sent to those legislators not yet responding. Since many legislators were not answering those questions anyway, it was decided to drop them in the hope the shorter instrument might elicit greater cooperation. In final form, the instrument consisted of twenty items.

COLLECTION OF THE DATA

The Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form) was mailed in early December, 1969, to each of the superintendents selected to participate in the study. By means of a cover letter,¹⁵ the superintendents were advised that this questionnaire was the first of two they would be receiving. There were two reasons for separating the questionnaires. First, the second questionnaire, the LDMI, was still in the process of being developed. Second, and more important, it was believed that in view of the combined length of the two instruments--each required ten to fifteen minutes to complete--the superintendents would be more likely to cooperate if they were distributed separately. Based on his own experience as a public school superintendent, the researcher felt two widely spaced intrusions of ten to fifteen minutes each would seem less of a burden than one requiring thirty minutes of the superintendent's time. The high rate of return of the two instruments seems to indicate this may be the case.

A complete questionnaire was sent in late December to those who had not responded.¹⁶ A third contact was made shortly thereafter with those still not heard from. The sixty-first questionnaire was received approximately one and one-half months following the first mailing.

¹⁵See Appendix A.

¹⁶See Appendix C.

A stamped, self addressed envelope was included with each questionnaire.

The researcher had anticipated a possible reluctance on the part of superintendents to complete this instrument, particularly if they felt their efforts to influence legislative decision-making had been less than adequate. No reluctance was evident, however. Only a few comments, none negative, were made by the sixty-one superintendents completing the instrument. One noted, "If this survey has accomplished no other purpose, it has brought to my attention the need for me to take a more active part, locally and on the state level, in legislation related to education."

The second instrument, the LDMI, was mailed to the superintendents in late January, 1971.¹⁷ A stamped, self addressed envelope was included.

In early February, a complete questionnaire was sent to those who had not responded,¹⁸ and further follow-up efforts were made as late as mid-March. Based on comments offered by several of the participating superintendents, it appeared that this questionnaire was greeted with much more resistance than the first. One superintendent, although completing the questionnaire, stated, "This questionnaire seems ridiculous for superintendents. It should be sent to legislators. I feel as though I am being tested on my knowledge

¹⁷See Appendix L.

¹⁸See Appendix M.

of legislative procedure." Another wrote, "After reviewing your last 'questionnaire', I find or would consider it a test on one's knowledge on the workings of the legislature. Therefore please excuse us for not filling it out." Although a detailed letter of explanation subsequently secured the cooperation of the aforementioned superintendent, his comments, and those of others, indicated some resistance to the "test" nature of the instrument.

A total of sixty of these questionnaires were ultimately received, the last arriving in late March.

In January, 1971, the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form) was distributed to each representative and senator identified as a principal legislative representative by the fifty superintendents who had been in position during the twelve-month period under study.¹⁹ Before and after distributing the questionnaire, the researcher made direct personal contact with many of the legislators or their staff members in an effort to obtain cooperation. Personal contacts and other follow-up efforts²⁰ continued until mid-March. In all, seventy-two of the one-hundred questionnaires were eventually completed and returned.

One of the difficulties involved in studies of the legislature is obtaining the cooperation of the law-makers. Throughout this phase of the study, there were many

¹⁹See Appendix F.

²⁰See Appendix G.

indications that had the researcher not been an employee of the legislature the rate of return would have been considerably lower. For one thing, the volume of paper which crosses a legislator's desk, coupled with the demands which his legislative and non-legislative responsibilities make on his time, are such that questionnaires from doctoral candidates are not seen as particularly important. This may be partly due to the fact that the typical legislator receives a great many questionnaires during the course of a year. Interest groups question him regarding his views on issues of particular importance to them. Doctoral candidates and other students send questionnaires as part of studies they are conducting. Newspapers and radio and television stations poll the legislator on various issues and solicit his views on a variety of topics. As a result, many have adopted the policy of discarding all questionnaires not coming from persons or groups in their legislative districts, or from others known by them. Being known is no assurance the questionnaire will be completed, however. Cooperation was promised by many legislators known by the researcher, but the completed questionnaires were sometimes not received. Although the legislators in question had every intention of completing the questionnaires, they never seemed to find the time. After observing the legislators in action for more than a year, the researcher could understand the problem--although still hoping for 100 percent return.

A more disturbing problem was the reluctance of legislators to answer questions which could prove embarrassing to them if anonymity were not maintained. Although the researcher purposely stressed that no names would appear in the study, this question was frequently raised. A number of legislators, including some well known by the researcher, wanted additional assurance that their responses would not get back to the superintendents in question.

Unfortunately, there is some basis for the legislators' concern. Recently, for example, legislators were asked to complete a questionnaire as part of another doctoral study. In the cover letter, the legislators were promised that their responses could not be identified with them in any way. Later, when a follow-up questionnaire was sent to the legislators, one legislator could not understand how the researcher knew, if the responses were anonymous, that he had not completed the first questionnaire. He either did not read, or did not believe, the researcher's assertion that the follow-up questionnaire was being routinely sent to all who had received the first one. In any event, convinced there must be some identifying mark on the questionnaire, he set out to find it. He did--under the stamp. Needless to say, this information quickly made the rounds. Instances where information considered confidential by the legislator was shared with a researcher he knew, only to have it come back to haunt him, were also mentioned during the course of the study.

The right of anonymity of all respondents, superintendents as well as legislators, was respected and the names of the participants are known only to the researcher.

ENDORSEMENT

The study was endorsed by the Board of Directors of the Michigan Association of School Administrators. A cover letter, signed by the Executive Secretary, was included with each questionnaire sent to the superintendents selected to participate in this study.²¹ The Board believed the study could assist the Association in its efforts to become more effective in influencing educational decision-making and on this basis asked the superintendents to cooperate in the study.

TREATMENT OF THE DATA

Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were computed to determine the relationships that exist between the variables as called for in Hypotheses 1, 2 and 3. The Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient (r) is the basic index used to describe the degree of correlation in any bivariate distribution.²²

²¹See Appendix B.

²²Games and Klare, Elementary Statistics, p. 349.

All statistical computations were performed on the Control Data Corporation (CDC) 3600 Computer.

The obtained correlation coefficients were tested by making a z or t-test, using the .10 level of significance and the appropriate degrees of freedom. The z-test was employed when the number of pairs used in computing r was more than thirty, while the t-test was used when the number of pairs was less than thirty.²³ The tests were two-tailed since it was desired to know whether there was a significant positive or significant negative correlation between the variables under consideration.

This portion of the study consisted of three phases, each dealing with one of the three hypotheses.

Phase One

In this phase, the focus was on the relationship between the superintendents' level of understanding of the legislative decision-making process (as measured by the LDMI) and their efforts to influence that process, as reported on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form).

As the first step, a frequency distribution was constructed using the scores on the LDMI. The scores were the number of correct answers for each of the sixty superintendents completing the instrument. The mean and standard

²³N. M. Downie and R. W. Heath, Basic Statistical Methods (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), pp. 231-232.

deviation of the distribution were calculated.

A frequency distribution was then constructed for each of the sixty-eight behaviors reported on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form) by the sixty superintendents who had also completed the LDMI. To construct these distributions, each of the five divisions on the instrument's "frequency scale" was assigned a number:

<u>Frequency Scale</u>	<u>Number</u>
0 times	1
1-3 times	2
4-6 times	3
7-9 times	4
10+ times	5

The assigned numbers, representing the "frequency scale" divisions, were used in constructing each of the sixty-eight frequency distributions. The mean and standard deviation were calculated for each frequency distribution.

Correlation coefficients were then computed to determine the relationship between the superintendents' scores on the LDMI and each of the sixty-eight reported influential behaviors. Each correlation coefficient obtained was tested to determine whether it was significantly greater or less than 0.

Next, the sixty-eight reported behaviors were grouped into the three broad categories called for by Hypothesis 1, namely: (1) direct personal communication,

(2) communication through intermediaries, and (3) efforts to keep channels of communication open.²⁴ The three categories were suggested by the studies of Milbrath²⁵ and De Vries.²⁶ To facilitate the examination and reporting of the data, the three broad categories were then subdivided as follows:

Direct Personal Communication

Personal Presentation of Views--Volunteered

Personal Presentation of Views--Requested

Testifying at Hearings

Communication Through Intermediaries

Constituents

Board and Staff

Colleagues

Professional Association

Governor

State Department

Other Groups

Efforts to Keep Channels of Communication Open

Grouped under "direct personal communication" were those influential behaviors which brought the superintendent in

²⁴See Appendix E.

²⁵Lester W. Milbrath, "Lobbying as a Communication Process," Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring, 1960, pp. 32-53.

²⁶Walter D. De Vries, "The Michigan Lobbyist: A Study of the Bases and Perceptions of Effectiveness" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1960), pp. 142-209.

direct personal contact with members of the legislature on educational policy issues. Included were contacts initiated by superintendents as well as by legislators. Under "communication through intermediaries" were grouped efforts to influence educational policy-making by means of communication through intermediaries. "Efforts to keep channels of communication open" encompassed ways in which a superintendent might endeavor to create and maintain channels of communication with members of the legislature.

Several of the influential behavior items were difficult to categorize since they had aspects of more than one of the categories. This was particularly true in the case of "direct personal communication" and "communication through intermediaries." For example, collaboration with other groups, such as civic groups, other interest groups, and political party organizations, has aspects of both. So do attending meetings at which legislators discussed legislative topics, and inviting area legislators to discuss education matters with other educators. Items which had aspects of both direct communication and communication through intermediaries were grouped under the latter category since it was believed the superintendent's primary intent was to communicate with the legislators as a member of a group or to stimulate the group to exert an influence on the policy process.

Finally, an average correlation coefficient was computed for each of the three major categories using the procedure described by Downie and Heath:

Since Pearson r 's are not equal units of measurement, they should not be added and averaged. To find an average correlation coefficient, change each r to its respective z Then average these Z 's and . . .; convert this Z back to an r . This is the average r .²⁷

Each average correlation coefficient obtained was tested to determine whether it was significantly greater or less than 0.

Phase Two

Phase two was concerned with the superintendent's level of understanding of the legislative decision-making process (scores on the LDMI) and their efforts to influence the legislators representing their school districts, as perceived by those legislators--measured by the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form).

First, a check was made to determine whether an Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form) had been completed by both the representative and senator identified by each superintendent as the principal representatives of his school district in the legislature. Of the seventy-two instruments that were completed and returned by legislators, it was found that questionnaires had been completed for twenty-six of the superintendents by both of the legislators.

A preanalysis was made of the data to determine whether the response of a senator or representative could be considered an unbiased estimate of what his counterpart in

²⁷N. M. Downie and R. W. Heath, Basic Statistical Methods (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 158.

the other chamber would have reported had he responded. When examination of the data revealed no consistent pattern, it was decided to use only the responses of those legislators where both the representative and senator identified by a particular superintendent had participated.

Next a frequency distribution was constructed using the scores on the LDMI for the twenty-six superintendents whose legislators--both the representative and senator--were participating in the study. The scores were the number of correct answers on the LDMI. The mean and standard deviation of the distribution were calculated.

The Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form) completed by the representative and the senator identified by each of the twenty-six superintendents were paired. Each of the five divisions on the instrument's "frequency scale" was assigned a number:

<u>Frequency Scale</u>	<u>Number</u>
0 times	1
1-3 times	2
4-6 times	3
7-9 times	4
10-+ times	5

The assigned numbers for the responses of each paired representative and senator to each of the twenty items were averaged. A frequency distribution was then constructed for each of the twenty behaviors reported on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form) using these averages

to represent the "frequency scale" divisions. The mean and standard deviation were calculated for each of the twenty frequency distributions.

Correlation coefficients were computed to determine the relationship between the superintendents' scores on the LDMI and each of the twenty perceived influential behaviors. Each correlation coefficient obtained was tested to determine whether it was significantly greater or less than 0.

Next, the twenty perceived behaviors were grouped into the three broad categories called for by Hypothesis 2, namely: (1) direct personal communication, (2) communication through intermediaries, and (3) efforts to keep channels of communication open.²⁸

Finally, an average correlation coefficient was computed for each of the categories. Each average correlation coefficient obtained was tested to determine whether it was significantly greater or less than 0.

Phase Three

The relationship between the superintendents' reported influential behavior, as measured by the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form), and their perceived behavior, as measured by the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislative Form), was the subject of phase three.

²⁸See Appendix I.

A frequency distribution was constructed for each of the twenty behaviors reported on the Legislator Form by the twenty-six pairs of legislators. The mean and standard deviation for each frequency distribution were calculated. A frequency distribution was also constructed for each of the twenty corresponding behaviors reported on the Superintendent Form by the twenty-six superintendents whose legislators--representative and senator--were participating.

To construct these distributions, each of the five divisions on the instrument's "frequency scale" was assigned a number:

<u>Frequency Scale</u>	<u>Number</u>
0 times	1
1-3 times	2
4-6 times	3
7-9 times	4
10-+ times	5

These numbers, averaged in the case of the paired legislators, were used in constructing each of the forty--twenty Legislator Form and twenty Superintendent Form--frequency distributions. The mean and standard deviation were calculated for each frequency distribution.

Correlation coefficients were computed to determine the relationship between each reported behavior (Superintendent Form) and its corresponding perceived behavior (Legislator Form). Each correlation coefficient obtained was tested

to determine whether it was significantly greater or less than 0.

HYPOTHESES

Ho₁: There is no significant relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and behavior as reported on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form).

Ho_{1a}: There is no significant relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and the superintendents' reported direct personal communication with members of the legislature.

Ho_{1b}: There is no significant relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and the superintendents' reported communication with members of the legislature through intermediaries.

Ho_{1c}: There is no significant relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and the superintendents' reported efforts to keep channels of communication open with members of the legislature.

Ho₂: There is no significant relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and behavior as reported on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form).

Ho_{2a}: There is no significant relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and the superintendents' personal communication with members of the legislature representing their school districts, as perceived by those legislators.

Ho_{2b}: There is no significant relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and the superintendents' communication with members of the legislature through intermediaries, as perceived by the legislators representing their school districts.

Ho_{2c}: There is no significant relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and the superintendents' efforts to keep channels of communication open with the legislators representing their school districts, as perceived by those legislators.

Ho₃: There is no significant relationship between behavior as reported on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form) and behavior as reported on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form).

Ho_{3a}: There is no significant relationship between the superintendents' reported direct personal communication with the legislators representing their school districts, and the

superintendents' direct personal communication as perceived by those legislators.

Ho_{3b}: There is no significant relationship between the superintendents' reported communication through intermediaries with members of the legislature representing their school districts, and the superintendents' communication as perceived by those legislators.

Ho_{3c}: There is no significant relationship between the superintendents' reported efforts to keep channels of communication open with members of the legislature representing their districts, and the superintendents' efforts as perceived by those legislators.

SUMMARY

This chapter has given an explanation of the procedures used to obtain and analyze the data. The method of obtaining, and a description of the sample was given. The development of the instruments was discussed. The steps used for follow-up of unreturned questionnaires were outlined. The statistical method used was explained.

Chapter 4

REPORTING THE DATA

Four major objectives served as the basis for this study. The purpose of this chapter is to present the findings relative to these objectives.

OBJECTIVE ONE

Determine the level of understanding which Michigan public school superintendents have of those aspects of the legislative decision-making process deemed important for them to know.

Sixty superintendents completed and returned the Legislative Decision Making Inventory (LDMI),¹ the instrument developed to collect the data regarding the knowledge which superintendents had of the legislative decision-making process in the Michigan Legislature. The instrument consisted of fifty-two questions about the legislative decision-making process, and was based on the recommendations of selected key non-legislator participants in the legislative process regarding aspects of the process they considered important for superintendents to generally know.

¹See Appendix N.

None of the superintendents answered all fifty-two questions correctly; scores ranged from a low of twenty-two to a high of forty-seven. The mean score for the sixty superintendents was thirty-eight. A frequency distribution of scores on the LDMI is shown in Table 4.

Table 4

Scores of Superintendents on Fifty-Two Item
Legislative Decision Making Inventory

Number of Correct Responses	Frequency
46 - 48	2
43 - 45	7
40 - 42	16
37 - 39	17
34 - 36	10
31 - 33	3
28 - 30	1
25 - 27	3
22 - 24	<u>1</u>
	60
$\bar{X} = 37.93$	$s = 5.11$

For purposes of this study, "level of understanding" was defined as the number of correct answers on the LDMI.

The questions are listed in order of difficulty in Appendix O; difficulty being defined as the number of superintendents answering the item correctly.

An examination of Appendix O suggests that the superintendents did best on the questions which could be answered on the basis of "common knowledge," or for which the correct response was self-evident. For example, all of the superintendents knew that the choice of sponsor was important for interest groups desiring to have proposals introduced, and fifty-eight of the sixty superintendents were aware that legislators considered the political ramifications of their vote. The fact that the legislative body seldom forces bills out of committees is frequently mentioned, particularly in regard to the Congress, and all but four of the superintendents gave the correct response. Likewise the power of the committee chairmen is well publicized, and fifty-two of the sixty superintendents answered this question correctly. Seemingly most difficult for the superintendents were questions based on the interaction between participants which is at the heart of the legislative process. Fifty-three of the sixty superintendents mistakenly believed that bills frequently divided legislators along party lines, and less than half knew that legislators often encouraged competing interest groups to reach a friendly resolution of differences and then return to the legislature for ratification of the agreement. Just half of the sixty superintendents knew that

legislators preferred to look to the governor to recommend ways of securing needed revenue rather than offer tax bills on their own, and twenty-eight were not aware that bills frequently "die in committee" because their sponsors made no effort to bring them to the floor.

To key the LDMI, selected legislative leaders were asked to indicate which answer--very frequently, often, occasionally, rarely--should be accepted as correct for each item. When completed by the legislators, the four response categories were collapsed to two--very frequently/often, and occasionally/rarely. The response on the two choice scale considered correct by at least 75 percent of the participating legislative leaders was the basis on which the answers given by the sixty superintendents were judged.

It should be noted that, with but one exception, the answers which 75 percent of the legislative leaders designated as correct had been similarly designated by at least 70 percent of the key non-legislators who were involved in the development of the instrument. The exception was the question, "Legislators trade their vote on contested bills for support for their own bills." The legislators answered "occasionally/rarely," the key non-legislators said the answer was "very frequently/often."

OBJECTIVE TWO

Determine the frequency with which Michigan public school superintendents use the various methods and tactics available in their attempts to influence educational legislation.

The Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form)² was the instrument used to gather the data called for by objective two. The instrument consisted of sixty-eight statements about ways in which a school superintendent might become involved in educational decision-making at the state level. Respondents were asked to indicate how frequently they had acted as described during the past twelve months by drawing a circle around one of the five response categories (0 1-3 4-6 7-9 10-+) following each item. The five response categories were identified as: 0 = Never, 1-3 = One to three times, 4-6 = Four to six times, 7-9 = Seven to nine times, and 10-+ = Ten or more times.

Sixty-one superintendents completed and returned the instrument.³

To facilitate examination and reporting, the data were grouped into three broad categories: (1) direct personal communication, (2) communication through intermediaries, and (3) efforts to keep channels of communication open.⁴

²See Appendix D.

³One superintendent completed and returned the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form) but not the LDMI.

⁴See Appendix E.

A frequency distribution was then constructed for each of the items included in each of the categories. To construct these distributions, each of the five divisions on the instrument's "frequency scale" was assigned a number:

<u>Frequency Scale</u>	<u>Number</u>
0 times	1
1-3 times	2
4-6 times	3
7-9 times	4
10-+ times	5

The assigned numbers, representing the "frequency scale" divisions, were used in constructing each of the frequency distributions. The mean and standard deviation were calculated for each distribution. The frequency with which the sixty-one superintendents reported using each of the various tactics and techniques in their personal attempts to influence legislative decision making during the twelve-month period (January 1 - December 31, 1970) is summarized in Table 5.

Table 6 shows the tactics and techniques which the superintendents reported using most frequently during the twelve-month period, while Table 7 gives those used least frequently.

Table 5

Frequency With Which Superintendents Reported Using Various Tactics and Techniques
in Attempt to Influence Educational Legislation During Twelve Month Period

Influential Behavior	Number Reporting	Reported Frequency of Use	
		Mean ^a	Standard Deviation
DIRECT PERSONAL COMMUNICATION			
<u>Personal Presentation of Views--Volunteered</u>			
5. ^b Expressed my views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to repre- sentatives or senators <u>other than</u> <u>those</u> representing my school district:			
a. By telephone.	50	1.84	0.96
b. By personal contact.	51	1.90	1.02
c. By letter.	56	2.20	1.10
26. Went to the legislature to "lobby" on a particular education issue.	61	1.52	0.57
30. Without being asked, informed "my" representative or senator of the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs:			

continued

^a1 represents never; 2 represents one to three times; 3 represents four to six times;
4 represents seven to nine times; 5 represents ten or more times.

^bNumber of the item on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form).

Table 5--continued

Influential Behavior	Number Reporting	Reported Frequency of Use	
		Mean ^a	Standard Deviation
a. By telephone	49	2.08	0.93
b. By personal contact	50	2.14	0.88
c. By letter.	55	2.42	0.98
36. Informed "my" representative or senator of the effects of certain <u>laws</u> on local school programs.	61	2.26	0.93
41. Without being asked, made suggestions to "my" representative or senator regarding possible legislation to solve particular school <u>problems</u> .	61	1.89	0.84
<u>Personal Presentation of Views--Requested</u>			
32. Was asked by "my" representative or senator to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	61	1.48	0.67
38. Was asked by "my" representative or senator for information regarding the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs.	61	1.84	0.73
56. Was asked by my professional association to express my views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to my representative or senator.	60	2.20	1.16
64. Was asked by the State Department of Education to express my views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to my representative or senator.	61	1.16	0.49
continued			

Table 5--continued

Influential Behavior	Number Reporting	Reported Mean ^a	Frequency of Use Standard Deviation
<u>Testifying at Hearings</u>			
9. Presented unsolicited testimony regarding an educational issue before a committee of the legislature.	61	1.16	0.37
19. Was invited by a committee of the legislature to present testimony regarding an educational issue.	61	1.15	0.40
COMMUNICATION THROUGH INTERMEDIARIES			
<u>Constituents</u>			
3. Encouraged district residents to petition the legislators representing our school district regarding an education issue requiring legislative action.	61	2.33	1.06
6. Conducted grassroots campaign to inform and arouse district residents regarding the need for particular school legislation.	61	1.89	0.98
11. Encouraged school district residents to be present in the chamber on the day the legislature voted on a certain education issue.	61	1.41	0.56
13. Promoted the establishment of a local citizens' committee to seek legislative action.	61	1.30	0.49
continued			

Table 5--continued

Influential Behavior	Number Reporting	Reported Frequency of Use	
		Mean ^a	Standard Deviation
15. Sought the endorsement of local civic groups for an education issue requiring legislative action.	61	1.49	0.67
16. Stimulated district residents to write letters to the governor about certain education issues.	61	1.80	0.77
22. Asked particular individuals to call upon specified legislators to discuss certain education issues.	61	1.75	0.77
23. Stimulated school district residents to write letters about certain education issues to the legislators representing the school district.	61	1.95	0.90
34. Requested "my" representative or senator to take part in public meetings in which education issues requiring legislative action were discussed.	61	1.48	0.62
35. Publicized the voting record of "my" representative or senator on certain education issues.	61	1.21	0.49
44. Publicized the governor's position on certain education issues.	61	1.72	0.71
46. Invited the governor or members of his staff to take part in public meetings in which education issues requiring legislative action were discussed.	61	1.13	0.43
continued			

Table 5--continued

Influential Behavior	Number Reporting	Reported Frequency of Use	
		Mean ^a	Standard Deviation
<u>Board and Staff</u>			
2. Discussed with members of the school staff the effect of certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature on local school programs.	61	3.46	1.18
8. Discussed with my board of education the effect of certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature on local school programs.	61	3.75	1.06
14. Asked members of the school staff to express their views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to their representative or senator.	61	2.38	1.13
20. Asked members of the board of education to express their views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to legislators representing the district.	60	2.33	0.93
25. Asked members of the school staff for suggestions regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	61	1.59	0.88
28. Asked members of my board of education to express their views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to their school board association.	61	2.03	0.82
continued			

Table 5--continued

Influential Behavior	Number Reporting	Reported Frequency of Use	
		Mean ^a	Standard Deviation
42. Invited "my" representative or senator to discuss legislative topics with the board of education.	61	1.18	0.50
<u>Colleagues</u>			
1. Met with other educators to discuss legislative topics.	61	4.08	0.95
7. Served on a professional association or state department committee seeking legislative action.	61	1.49	0.89
12. Attended meetings at which legislators, the governor, or members of his staff discussed legislative topics.	61	2.57	1.09
27. Attended meetings at which State Department of Education representatives discussed legislative topics.	61	2.44	0.90
33. Invited "my" representative or senator to discuss education matters with other educators.	61	1.61	0.84
<u>Professional Association</u>			
53. Informed my professional association of the effects of certain <u>laws</u> on local school programs.	61	2.16	1.11
54. Was asked by my professional association to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	60	1.75	0.99
continued			

Table 5--continued

Influential Behavior	Number Reporting	Reported Frequency of Use	
		Mean ^a	Standard Deviation
55. Without being asked, informed my professional association of the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs.	61	1.70	0.88
57. Without being asked, made suggestions to my professional association regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	61	1.61	0.80
58. Was asked by my professional association for information regarding the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local programs.	61	1.95	1.09
<u>Governor</u>			
43. Informed the governor or his staff of the effects of certain <u>laws</u> on local school programs.	60	1.47	0.54
45. Was asked by the governor or his staff for information regarding the effects of certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature on local school programs.	61	1.15	0.40
47. Publicly endorsed a candidate for election to the office of governor.	61	1.21	0.61
48. Without being asked, made suggestions to the governor or his staff regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	61	1.36	0.52
continued			

Table 5--continued

Influential Behavior	Number Reporting	Reported Frequency of Use	
		Mean ^a	Standard Deviation
49. Visited the Capitol office of the governor or members of his staff.	61	1.23	0.46
50. Without being asked, informed the governor or his staff of the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs.	61	1.49	0.62
51. Took members of the governor's staff to lunch.	61	1.03	0.26
52. Was asked by the governor or his staff to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	61	1.10	0.57
<u>State Department</u>			
59. Was asked by the State Department of Education to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	61	1.36	0.86
60. Informed the State Department of Education of the effects of certain <u>laws</u> on local school programs.	61	1.89	0.98
61. Was asked by the State Department of Education for information regarding the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs.	60	1.33	0.60
continued			

Table 5--continued

Influential Behavior	Number Reporting	Reported Frequency of Use	
		Mean ^a	Standard Deviation
62. Without being asked, made suggestions to the State Department of Education regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	60	1.63	0.80
63. Without being asked, informed the State Department of Education of the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs.	61	1.64	0.78
<u>Other Groups</u>			
4. Sought the support of area Republican or Democrat Party organizations for an education issue requiring legislative action.	61	1.77	1.06
17. Joined with representatives of other interest groups (e.g., Farm Bureau, labor groups, etc.) in an effort to influence legislation.	61	1.41	0.76
EFFORTS TO KEEP CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION OPEN			
10. Contributed to the election campaign fund of candidates for election to the legislature.	61	1.54	0.65
18. Publicly endorsed candidates for election to the legislature.	61	1.25	0.57
21. Circulated nominating petitions for candidates for election to the legislature.	61	1.15	0.36
continued			

Table 5--continued

Influential Behavior	Number Reporting	Reported Frequency of Use	
		Mean ^a	Standard Deviation
24. Became a candidate for election to the legislature.	61	1.00	0.00
29. Invited "my" representative or senator to visit our schools to view certain programs in operation.	61	1.54	0.77
31. Took "my" representative or senator to lunch.	61	1.38	0.69
37. Attended social activities at which "my" representative or senator was present.	61	1.97	0.84
39. Visited the Capitol office of "my" representative or senator.	60	1.75	0.88
40. Invited "my" representative or senator to speak to a class or other group of students.	61	1.43	0.62

Table 6

Tactics and Techniques Superintendents Reported Using
Most Frequently During Twelve Month Period

Influential Behavior	Reported Frequency of Use	
	Mean ^a	Standard Deviation
1. ^b Met with other educators to discuss legislative topics.	4.08	0.95
8. Discussed with my board of education the effect of certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature on local school programs.	3.75	1.06
2. Discussed with members of the school staff the effect of certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature on local school programs.	3.46	1.18
12. Attended meetings at which legislators, the governor, or members of his staff discussed legislative topics.	2.57	1.09
27. Attended meetings at which State Department of Education representatives discussed legislative topics.	2.44	0.90
30c. Without being asked, informed "my" representative or senator of the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs <u>by letter</u> .	2.42	0.98
		continued

^a1 represents never; 2 represents one to three times; 3 represents four to six times; 4 represents seven to nine times; 5 represents ten or more times.

^bNumber of the item on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form).

Table 6--continued

Influential Behavior	Reported Frequency of Use	
	Mean ^a	Standard Deviation
14. Asked members of the school staff to express their views on certain bills then before the legislature to their representative or senator.	2.38	1.13
20. Asked members of the board of education to express their views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to legislators representing the district.	2.33	0.93
3. Encouraged district residents to petition the legislators representing our school district regarding an education issue requiring legislative action.	2.33	1.06
36. Informed "my" representative or senator of the effect of certain <u>laws</u> on local school programs.	2.26	0.93
5c. Expressed my views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to representatives or senators <u>other than those</u> representing my school district <u>by letter</u> .	2.20	1.10
56. Was asked by my professional association to express my views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to my representative or senator.	2.20	1.16
53. Informed my professional association of the effects of certain <u>laws</u> on local school programs.	2.16	1.11
30b. Without being asked, informed "my" representative or senator of the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs <u>by personal contact</u> .	2.14	0.88
		continued

Table 6--continued

Influential Behavior	Reported Frequency of Use	
	Mean ^a	Standard Deviation
30a. Without being asked, informed "my representative or senator of the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs <u>by telephone</u> .	2.08	0.93
28. Asked members of "my" board of education to express their views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to their school board association.	2.03	0.82
37. Attended social activities at which "my" representative or senator was present.	1.97	0.84

Table 7

Tactics and Techniques Superintendents Reported Using
Least Frequently During Twelve Month Period

Influential Behavior	Reported Frequency of Use	
	Mean ^a	Standard Deviation
24. ^b Became a candidate for election to the legislature.	1.00	0.00
51. Took members of the governors staff to lunch.	1.03	0.26
52. Was asked by the governor or his staff to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	1.10	0.57
46. Invited the governor or members of his staff to take part in public meetings in which education issues requiring legislative action were discussed.	1.13	0.43
45. Was asked by the governor or his staff for information regarding the effects of certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature on local school programs.	1.15	0.40
19. Was invited by a committee of the legislature to present testimony regarding an education issue.	1.15	0.40
21. Circulated nominating petitions for candidates for election to the legislature.	1.15	0.36
64. Was asked by the State Department of Education to express my views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to my representative or senator.	1.16	0.49
		continued

^a1 represents never; 2 represents one to three times; 3 represents four to six times; 4 represents seven to nine times; 5 represents ten or more times.

^bNumber of the item on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form).

Table 7--continued

Influential Behavior	Reported Frequency of Use	
	Mean ^a	Standard Deviation
9. Presented unsolicited testimony regarding an education issue before a committee of the legislature.	1.16	0.37
42. Invited "my" representative or senator to discuss legislative topics with the board of education.	1.18	0.50
35. Publicized the voting record of "my" representative or senator on certain education issues.	1.21	0.49
47. Publicly endorsed a candidate for election to the office of governor.	1.21	0.61
49. Visited the Capitol office of the governor or members of his staff.	1.23	0.46
18. Publicly endorsed a candidate for election to the legislature.	1.25	0.57
13. Promoted the establishment of a local citizens' committee to seek legislative action.	1.30	0.49
61. Was asked by the State Department of Education for information regarding the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs.	1.33	0.60
59. Was asked by the State Department of Education to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	1.36	0.86

Examination of Table 6 suggests that superintendents preferred working through intermediaries to direct contact with the decision makers. The tactics most frequently employed by the superintendents involved discussing legislative topics with other educators and board members, and attending meetings at which legislative topics were discussed. In their direct contact with the legislators, letters were the favored means of communication.

Examination of Table 7 suggests that superintendents avoided overt participation in the political process that puts the legislators in office. None of the superintendents sought a seat in the legislature in the 1970 election, and very few circulated nominating petitions for, or endorsed, candidates who did. The data also suggest that few superintendents were asked by the State Department of Education to express their views on legislative topics, and fewer still were in contact with the governor or members of his staff.

OBJECTIVE THREE

Determine the frequency with which Michigan public school superintendents use the various tactics and techniques available to influence the legislators representing their school districts, as perceived by those legislators.

The Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form)⁵ was the instrument used to gather the data called for by

⁵See Appendix H.

objective three. The instrument consisted of twenty statements about ways in which a school superintendent might attempt to influence his legislator on educational legislation. Respondents were asked to indicate how frequently the superintendent in question had acted as described by each item during the past twelve months by drawing a circle around one of the five response categories (0 1-3 4-6 7-9 10+) following that item. The five response categories were identified as: 0 = Never, 1-3 = One to three times, 4-6 = Four to six times, 7-9 = Seven to nine times, and 10+ = Ten or more times.

The instrument was distributed to the representative and senator identified by each of the fifty superintendents who had been in position during the twelve-month period under study as the principal representatives of his school district in the Michigan Legislature. Of the one-hundred questionnaires distributed to legislators, seventy-two were completed and returned--forty by senators, thirty-two by representatives. A breakdown in terms of the superintendents is reported in Table 8.

A frequency distribution was constructed for each of the twenty perceived influential behaviors. To construct these distributions, each of the five divisions on the instrument's "frequency scale" was assigned a number:

Table 8

Number of Superintendents for Whom Legislators Completed
the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form)

Strata Division (Student Enrollment)		Superin- tendents	Questionnaires Completed By Representatives	Senators
Under	500	3	3	3
500 to	999	9	7	8
1,000 to	1,999	11	7	10
2,000 to	3,999	13	9	11
4,000 to	9,999	9	4	7
10,000 and Over		<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
		47	32	40

<u>Frequency Scale</u>	<u>Number</u>
0 times	1
1-3 times	2
4-6 times	3
7-9 times	4
10-+ times	5

One set of distributions was constructed for the representatives, another for the senators. The assigned numbers, representing the "frequency scale" divisions, were used in constructing each of the distributions. The means and standard deviations were calculated.

The frequency with which the legislators perceived their superintendents as using the various tactics and techniques during the twelve-month period is reported in Table 9.

Examination of Table 9 suggests that representatives perceived the superintendents as making more frequent use of the various tactics and techniques than did senators. Representatives also reported asking superintendents to express their views on legislative topics more often than did the senators. This is perhaps not surprising. A senator served three times more people, and generally his district included a greater number of school districts. These differences would seem to make for closer contact between superintendents and their representatives than between the superintendents and the senators representing them.

OBJECTIVE FOUR

To determine the relationship between the reported influential behavior of the superintendent, the superintendent's level of understanding of the legislative process, and the superintendent's attempts to influence the legislators representing his school district, as perceived by those legislators.

The three hypotheses which developed from this objective, each divided into three subhypotheses to reflect the three broad categories into which behavior descriptions on the Influential Behavior Inventory were grouped, were presented in Chapter 3.

Table 9

Frequency With Which Legislators Reported Superintendents Used
Various Tactics and Techniques In Attempt To Influence
Educational Legislation During Twelve Month Period

Perceived Influential Behavior	Perceived Frequency of Use					
	Representatives			Senators		
	Mean ^a	Standard Deviation	N ^b	Mean ^a	Standard Deviation	N ^b
1. ^c Invited me to visit his district's schools and view certain programs in operation.	1.66	1.07	32	1.25	0.54	40
2. Informed me of the effects of certain laws on local school programs.	2.31	1.18	32	1.95	0.86	40
3. Without being asked, informed me of the effects certain bills then before the legislature would have on local school programs:						
a. By telephone.	1.75	1.11	32	1.37	0.59	40
b. By personal contact	1.81	1.03	32	1.45	0.64	40
c. By letter.	2.16	1.08	32	1.95	0.88	40
4. Invited me to discuss legislative topics with his board of education.	1.09	0.39	32	1.07	0.27	40

continued

^a1 represents never; 2 represents one to three times; 3 represents four to six times; 4 represents seven to nine times; 5 represents ten or more times.

^bNumber of superintendents being reported on.

^cNumber of the item on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form).

Table 9--continued

Perceived Influential Behavior	Perceived Frequency of Use					
	Representatives			Senators		
	Mean ^a	Standard Deviation	N ^b	Mean ^a	Standard Deviation	N ^b
5. Publicly endorsed my candidacy for election to the legislature.	1.22	0.75	32	1.15	0.43	40
6. Was asked by me for information regarding the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs.	1.91	1.15	32	1.70	0.65	40
7. Visited my office in the Capitol.	1.28	0.46	32	1.22	0.48	40
8. Invited me to speak to a class or other group of students.	1.34	0.79	32	1.17	0.45	40
9. Was asked by me to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	1.31	0.78	32	1.22	0.42	40
10. Took me to lunch.	1.28	0.52	32	1.07	0.27	40
11. Requested that I take part in public meetings in which education issues requiring legislative action were discussed.	1.34	0.55	32	1.32	0.62	40
12. Circulated my nominating petition for election to the legislature.	1.06	0.25	32	1.00	0.00	40
13. Without being asked, made suggestions to me regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	1.59	0.16	32	1.65	0.80	40

continued

Table 9--continued

Perceived Influential Behavior	Perceived Frequency of Use					
	Representatives			Senators		
	Mean ^a	Standard Deviation	N ^b	Mean ^a	Standard Deviation	N ^b
14. Publicized my voting record on certain education issues.	1.22	0.75	32	1.05	0.22	39
15. Invited me to discuss education matters with other educators.	1.52	1.03	31	1.27	0.64	40
16. Contributed to my election campaign fund.	1.09	0.30	32	1.00	0.00	40
17. Came to the legislature to "lobby" on a particular education issue.	1.28	0.77	32	1.15	0.43	40
18. Attended social activities at which I was present.	1.75	1.22	32	1.55	0.64	40

Correlation coefficients were computed to determine the relationships that exist between the variables under consideration. When grouped into categories, as called for by the subhypotheses, an average correlation was found for each of the groupings. All correlation coefficients were tested by making a z or t-test, using the .10 level of significance and the appropriate degrees of freedom. The z-test was employed when the number of pairs used in computing r was more than thirty, while the t-test was used when the number of pairs was less than thirty. The tests were two-tailed since it was desired to know whether the correlations were significantly positive or negative.

Hypothesis 1

Ho₁: There is no relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and behavior as reported on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form).

Ho_{1a}: There is no relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and the superintendents' reported direct personal communication with members of the legislature.

Ho_{1b}: There is no relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and the superintendents' reported communication with members of the legislature through intermediaries.

Ho_{1c}: There is no relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and the superintendents' reported efforts to keep channels of communication open with members of the legislature.

Each of the subhypotheses was analyzed separately (see Tables 10-12).

Subhypothesis 1a. Table 10 displays the correlation coefficients that were calculated to determine the relationship between scores on the LDMI and the superintendents' reported direct personal communication with members of the Michigan Legislature.

The average correlation coefficient ($r = .17$) for this category was not significant, therefore Subhypothesis 1a was retained.

Subhypothesis 1b. The relationships between scores on the LDMI and the superintendents' reported communication with members of the legislature through intermediaries are found in Table 11.

The average correlation coefficient ($r = .09$) for this category was not significant, therefore Subhypothesis 1b was retained.

Subhypothesis 1c. The relationship between scores on the LDMI and the superintendents' reported efforts to keep channels of communication open with members of the legislature is displayed in Table 12.

Table 10

Correlation Coefficients Between Scores on the LDMI and the Superintendents'
Reported Direct Personal Communication With Members of the Legislature

Reported Influential Behavior	df	$\alpha = .10, r \geq$	r
<u>Personal Presentation of Views--Volunteered</u>			
5. ^a Expressed my views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to representatives or senators <u>other than those</u> representing my school district:			
a. By telephone.	48	.24	-.02
b. By personal contact	48	.24	.13
c. By letter.	54	.23	.15
26. Went to the legislature to "lobby" on a particular education issue.	58	.23	.35*
30. Without being asked, informed "my" representative or senator of the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs:			
a. By telephone.	47	.24	.25*
b. By personal contact	47	.24	.20
c. By letter	53	.23	.22
36. Informed "my" representative or senator of the effects of certain <u>laws</u> on local school programs.	58	.23	.18
41. Without being asked, made suggestions to "my representative or senator regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	58	.23	.09
continued			

* Statistically significant.

^a Number of the item on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form).

Table 10--continued

Reported Influential Behavior		df	$\alpha = .10, r_{\geq}$	r
<u>Personal Presentation of Views--Requested</u>				
32.	Was asked by "my" representative or senator to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	58	.23	.21
38.	Was asked by "my" representative or senator for information regarding the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs.	58	.23	.16
56.	Was asked by my professional association to express my views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to my representative or senator.	57	.23	-.04
64.	Was asked by the State Department of Education to express my views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to my representative or senator.	58	.23	.13
<u>Testifying at Hearings</u>				
9.	Presented unsolicited testimony regarding an educational issue before a committee of the legislature.	58	.23	.21
19.	Was invited by a committee of the legislature to present testimony regarding an educational issue.	57	.23	.20
Average Correlation Coefficient = .17				

Table 11

Correlation Coefficients Between Scores on the LDMI and the Superintendents' Reported Communication with Members of the Legislature Through Intermediaries

Reported Influential Behavior	df	$\alpha = .10, r \geq$	r
<u>Constituents</u>			
3. ^a Encouraged district residents to petition the legislators representing our school district regarding an education issue requiring legislative action.	58	.23	-.05
6. Conducted grassroots campaign to inform and arouse district residents regarding the need for particular school legislation.	58	.23	-.01
11. Encouraged school district residents to be present in the chamber on the day the legislature voted on a certain education issue.	58	.23	.11
13. Promoted the establishment of a local citizens' committee to seek legislative action.	58	.23	.04
15. Sought the endorsement of local civic groups for an education issue requiring legislative action.	58	.23	.21
16. Stimulated district residents to write letters to the governor about certain education issues.	58	.23	-.10
22. Asked particular individuals to call upon specified legislators to discuss certain education issues.	58	.23	-.11
continued			

* Statistically significant.

^a Number of the item on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form).

Table 11--continued

Reported Influential Behavior		df	$\alpha = .10, r \geq$	r
23.	Stimulated school district residents to write letters about certain education issues to the legislators representing the school district.	58	.23	.08
34.	Requested "my" representative or senator to take part in public meetings in which education issues requiring legislative action were discussed.	58	.23	-.14
35.	Publicized the voting record of "my" representative or senator on certain education issues.	58	.23	.24*
44.	Publicized the governor's position on certain education issues.	58	.23	.07
46.	Invited the governor or members of his staff to take part in public meetings in which education issues requiring legislative action were discussed.	58	.23	.11
<u>Board and Staff</u>				
2.	Discussed with members of the school staff the effect of certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature on local school programs.	58	.23	.17
8.	Discussed with my board of education the effect of certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature on local school programs.	58	.23	.05
14.	Asked members of the school staff to express their views on certain bills then before the legislature to their representative or senator.	58	.23	-.06
20.	Asked members of the board of education to express their views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to legislators representing the district.	57	.23	-.04

continued

Table 11--continued

Reported Influential Behavior	df	$\alpha = .10, r_{\geq}$	r
25. Asked members of the school staff for suggestions regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	58	.23	-.05
28. Asked members of my board of education to express their views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to their school board association.	58	.23	-.02
42. Invited "my" representative or senator to discuss legislative topics with the board of education.	58	.23	-.03
<u>Colleagues</u>			
1. Met with other educators to discuss legislative topics.	58	.23	.22
7. Served on a professional association or state department committee seeking legislative action.	58	.23	.06
12. Attended meetings at which legislators, the governor, or members of his staff discussed legislative topics.	58	.23	.04
27. Attended meetings at which State Department of Education representatives discussed legislative topics.	58	.23	.01
33. Invited "my" representative or senator to discuss education matters with other educators.	58	.23	.00
<u>Professional Association</u>			
53. Informed my professional association of the effects of certain <u>laws</u> on local school programs.	58	.23	.01
54. Was asked by my professional association to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	57	.23	-.22

continued

Table 11--continued

Reported Influential Behavior	df	$\alpha = .10, r_{\geq}$	r
55. Without being asked, informed my professional association of the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs.	58	.23	.06
57. Without being asked, made suggestions to my professional association regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	58	.23	.00
58. Was asked by my professional association for information regarding the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local programs.	58	.23	-.06
<u>Governor</u>			
43. Informed the governor or his staff of the effects of certain <u>laws</u> on local school programs.	57	.23	.11
45. Was asked by the governor or his staff for information regarding the effects of certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature on local school programs.	58	.23	.03
47. Publicly endorsed a candidate for election to the office of governor.	58	.23	.24*
48. Without being asked, made suggestions to the governor or his staff regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	58	.23	.06
49. Visited the Capitol office of the governor or members of his staff.	58	.23	.29*
50. Without being asked, informed the governor or his staff of the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs.	58	.23	.02
continued			

Table 11--continued

Reported Influential Behavior		df	$\alpha = .10, r \geq$	r
51.	Took members of the governor's staff to lunch.	58	.23	.08
52.	Was asked by the governor or his staff to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	58	.23	-.24*
<u>State Department</u>				
59.	Was asked by the State Department of Education to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	58	.23	-.10
60.	Informed the State Department of Education of the effects of certain <u>laws</u> on local school programs.	58	.23	-.19
61.	Was asked by the State Department of Education for information regarding the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs.	57	.23	-.11
62.	Without being asked, made suggestions to the State Department of Education regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	57	.23	.00
63.	Without being asked, informed the State Department of Education of the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs.	58	.23	.05
<u>Other Groups</u>				
4.	Sought the support of area Republican or Democrat Party organizations for an education issue requiring legislative action.	58	.23	-.09
17.	Joined with representatives of other interest groups (e.g., Farm Bureau, labor groups, etc.) in an effort to influence legislation.	58	.23	.07
Average Correlation Coefficient = .09				

Table 12

Correlation Coefficients Between Scores on the LDMI and the Superintendents' Reported Efforts to Keep Channels of Communication Open with Members of the Legislature

Reported Influential Behavior	df	$\alpha=.10, r_{\geq}$	r
10. ^a Contributed to the election campaign fund of candidates for election to the legislature.	58	.23	.07
18. Publicly endorsed candidates for election to the legislature.	58	.23	.16
21. Circulated nominating petitions for candidates for election to the legislature.	58	.23	-.12
24. Became a candidate for election to the legislature.	58	.23	b
29. Invited "my" representative or senator to visit our schools to view certain programs in operation.	58	.23	.10
31. Took "my" representative or senator to lunch.	58	.23	.05
37. Attended social activities at which "my" representative or senator was present.	58	.23	.03
39. Visited the Capitol office of "my" representative or senator.	58	.23	.22
40. Invited "my" representative or senator to speak to a class or other group of students.	58	.23	.18
Average Correlation Coefficient = .12			

* Statistically significant.

^a Number of the item on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form).

^b No superintendents reported becoming candidates for the legislature.

Subhypothesis 1c was retained since the average correlation coefficient ($r = .12$) for this category was not significant.

Summary. No relationship was found to exist between scores on the LDMI and the behavior categories called for by Subhypotheses 1a, 1b, and 1c. Therefore Hypothesis 1 was retained.

Hypothesis 2

H_{02} : There is no relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and behavior as reported on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form).

H_{02a} : There is no relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and the superintendents' personal communication with members of the legislature representing their school districts, as perceived by those legislators.

H_{02b} : There is no relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and the superintendents' communication with members of the legislature through intermediaries, as perceived by the legislators representing their school districts.

H_{02c} : There is no relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory

and the superintendents' efforts to keep channels of communication open with the legislators representing their school districts, as perceived by those legislators.

Each of the subhypotheses was analyzed separately (see Tables 13-15).

Subhypothesis 2a. The correlation coefficients that were calculated to determine the relationship between scores on the LDMI and the superintendents' personal communication with members of the legislature representing their school districts, as perceived by those legislators, are displayed in Table 13.

The average correlation coefficient for this category ($r = .20$) was not significant, therefore Subhypothesis 2a was retained.

Subhypothesis 2b. Table 14 displays the correlation coefficients that were computed to determine the relationship between scores on the LDMI and the superintendents' communication with members of the legislature through intermediaries, as perceived by the legislators representing their school districts.

The average correlation coefficient ($r = .08$) for this category was not significant, therefore Subhypothesis 2b was retained.

These findings can only be considered suggestive. It was found that legislators were unwilling to respond to those items not based at least in part on direct contact

Table 13

Correlation Coefficients Between Scores on the LMDI and the Superintendents'
Perceived Direct Personal Communication with Members of the Legislature

Perceived Influential Behavior	df	$\alpha = .10, r \geq$	r
2. ^a Informed me of the effects of certain <u>laws</u> on local school programs.	23	.36	.11
3. Without being asked, informed me of the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local programs:			
a. By telephone.	23	.36	.18
b. By personal contact	23	.36	.31
c. By letter.	23	.36	.12
6. Was asked by me for information regarding the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs.	23	.36	.13
9. Was asked by me to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	23	.36	.26
13. Without being asked, made suggestions to me regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	23	.36	.07
17. Came to the legislature to "lobby" on a particular education issue.	23	.36	.37*
Average Correlation Coefficient = .20			

* Statistically significant.

^a Number of the item on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form).

Table 14

Correlation Coefficients Between Scores on the LDMI and the Superintendents' Perceived Communication with Members of the Legislature through Intermediaries

Perceived Influential Behavior	df	$\alpha = .10, r_{\geq}$	r
4. ^a Invited me to discuss legislative topics with his board of education	23	.36	.06
11. Requested that I take part in public meetings in which education issues requiring legislative action were discussed.	23	.36	.03
14. Publicized my voting record on certain education issues.	23	.36	.23
15. Invited me to discuss education matters with other educators.	23	.36	.08
Average Correlation Coefficient = .08			

* Statistically significant.

^a Number of the item on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form).

with the superintendents, therefore a number of the items comprising the "communication through intermediaries" category on the Superintendent Form of the Influential Behavior Inventory were not included on the Legislator Form.

Subhypothesis 2c. The relationship between scores on the LDMI and the superintendents' efforts to keep channels of communication open with the legislators representing their school districts, as perceived by those legislators, is displayed in Table 15.

Subhypothesis 2c was retained since the average correlation coefficient ($r = .23$) for this category was not significant.

Summary. No relationship was found to exist between scores on the LDMI and the behavior categories called for by Subhypotheses 2a, 2b, and 2c. Therefore Hypothesis 2 was retained.

Hypothesis 3

H_{03} : There is no relationship between behavior as reported on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form) and behavior as reported on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form).

H_{03a} : There is no relationship between the superintendents' reported direct personal communication with the legislators representing their school districts, and the superintendents'

Table 15

Correlation Coefficients Between Scores on the LDMI and the Superintendents' Perceived Efforts to Keep Channels of Communication Open with Members of the Legislature

Perceived Influential Behavior	df	$\alpha = .10, r_{\geq}$	r
1. ^a Invited me to visit his district's schools and view certain programs in operation.	23	.36	.14
5. Publicly endorsed my candidacy for election to the legislature.	23	.36	.06
7. Visited my office in the Capitol.	23	.36	.28
8. Invited me to speak to a class or other group of students.	23	.36	.38*
10. Took me to lunch.	23	.36	.03
12. Circulated my nominating petition for election to the legislature.	23	.36	-.22
16. Contributed to my election campaign fund.	23	.36	.34
18. Attended social activities at which I was present.	23	.36	.33
Average Correlation Coefficient = .23			

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* Statistically significant.

^a Number of the item on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form).

direct personal communication as perceived by those legislators.

Ho_{3b}: There is no relationship between the superintendents' reported communication through intermediaries with members of the legislature representing their school districts, and the superintendents' communication as perceived by those legislators.

Ho_{3c}: There is no relationship between the superintendents' reported efforts to keep channels of communication open with members of the legislature representing their districts, and the superintendents' efforts as perceived by those legislators.

Each of the subhypotheses was analyzed separately (see Tables 16-18).

The Superintendent Form of the Influential Behavior Inventory consisted of sixty-eight statements about ways in which a school superintendent might become involved in the legislative decision-making process. The Legislator Form was composed of twenty items drawn from the Superintendent Form, each describing a tactic or technique which a superintendent might use in an effort to influence the legislators representing his school district.

Subhypothesis 3a. The correlation coefficients that were computed to determine the relationship between the superintendents' reported and perceived direct personal

communication with the legislators representing their school districts are displayed in Table 16.

The average correlation coefficient ($r = .42$) for this category was significantly positive, therefore Subhypothesis 3a was rejected.

A significant positive correlation was found to exist between reported and perceived influential behavior for five of the eight behavior variables comprising this section. Found to be significant were: informing district legislators regarding the effects of certain bills by telephone (.64), by personal contact (.53), and by letter (.46); being asked by district legislators to suggest possible legislation (.45); and informing district legislators of the effect of certain laws on local school programs (.47).

A positive, but non-significant correlation was found between reported and perceived efforts on the part of superintendents to "lobby" at the legislature on particular education issues (.25). Two other behavior variables were also found to be non-significant: (1) making suggestions to district legislators regarding possible legislation to solve school problems (.20), and (2) being asked for information regarding the effects certain bills would have on local programs (.09). However, due to the fact that a relatively strong correlation was found between reported and perceived behavior for the remaining variables, the average correlation coefficient for this category was significant and the subhypothesis therefore rejected.

Table 16

Correlation Coefficients Between the Superintendents' Reported and Perceived Direct Personal Communication with the Legislators Representing Their School Districts

Influential Behavior	df	$\alpha = .10, r_{\geq}$	r
26. ^a Went to the legislature to "lobby" on a particular education issue. (17) ^b	24	.35	.25
30. Without being asked, informed representative or senator of the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs: (3)			
a. By telephone.	18	.38	.64*
b. By personal contact.	19	.37	.53*
c. By letter.	20	.36	.46*
32. Was asked by representative or senator to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems. (9)	24	.35	.45*
36. Informed representative or senator of the effects certain <u>laws</u> would have on local school programs. (2)	24	.35	.47*
38. Was asked by representative or senator for information regarding the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs. (6)	24	.35	.09
41. Without being asked, made suggestions to representative or senator regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems. (13)	24	.35	.20
Average Correlation Coefficient = .42*			

* Statistically significant.

^a Number of the item on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form).

^b Number of the item on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form).

Subhypothesis 3b. Table 17 displays the correlation coefficients that were calculated to determine the relationship between the superintendents' reported communication through intermediaries, and the communication as perceived by the legislators representing the district.

The average correlation coefficient ($r = .41$) for this category was significantly positive, therefore Subhypothesis 3b was rejected.

Relatively strong positive correlations were found to exist between reported and perceived efforts on the part of the superintendents to get district legislators to take part in public meetings in which education issues requiring legislative action were discussed (.54), and to publicize the voting record of the legislators on education issues (.52). Positive, but non-significant correlations between reported and perceived behavior were found for the remaining two variables in this category: inviting the legislators to talk with the board of education (.28) and other educators (.26).

Subhypothesis 3c. The relationships between the superintendents' reported efforts to keep channels of communication open with members of the legislature representing their districts, and the superintendents' efforts as perceived by those legislators are found in Table 18.

The average correlation coefficient ($r = .36$) for this category was significantly positive, therefore Subhypothesis 3c was rejected.

Table 17

Correlation Coefficients Between the Superintendents' Reported and Perceived Communication With the Legislators Representing Their School District Through Intermediaries

Influential Behavior	df	$\alpha = .10, r_{\geq}$	r
33. ^a Invited representative or senator to discuss education matters with other educators. (4) ^b	24	.35	.26
34. Requested representative or senator to take part in public meetings in which education issues requiring legislative action were discussed. (11)	24	.35	.54*
35. Publicized the voting record of representative or senator on certain education issues. (14)	24	.35	.52*
42. Invited representative or senator to discuss legislative topics with the board of education. (15)	24	.35	.28
Average Correlation Coefficient = .41*			

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* Statistically significant.

^a Number of the item on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form).

^b Number of the item on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form).

Table 18

Correlation Coefficients Between the Superintendents' Reported and Perceived Efforts to Keep Channels of Communication Open with the Legislators Representing their School Districts

Influential Behavior	df	$\alpha = .10, r_{\alpha}$	r
10. ^a Contributed to the election campaign fund of candidates for election to the legislature. (16) ^b	24	.35	.49*
18. Publicly endorsed candidates for election to the legislature. (5)	24	.35	.02
21. Circulated nominating petitions for candidates for election to the legislature. (12)	24	.35	.53*
29. Invited representative or senator to visit district schools to view certain programs in operation. (1)	24	.35	.45*
31. Took representative or senator to lunch. (10)	24	.35	.43*
37. Attended social activities at which representative or senator was present. (18)	24	.35	.36*
39. Visited the Capitol office of representative or senator. (7)	24	.35	.30
40. Invited "my" representative or senator to speak to a class or other group of students. (8)	24	.35	.30
Average Correlation Coefficient = .36*			

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* Statistically significant.

^a Number of the item on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form).

^b Number of the item on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form).

Significantly positive correlations were found to exist for five of the eight items comprising this section: circulating nominating petitions (.53), contributing to an election campaign fund (.49), inviting district legislators to visit the schools (.45), taking the legislators to lunch (.43), and attending social activities at which area legislators were present (.36).

A positive, but non-significant correlation was found between reported and perceived visits to the Capitol office of district legislators. It is recognized that a legislator is out of his office much of the day--in the chamber, in committee, and "mending fences" in the district--and it is quite possible that some visits by the superintendents might not be made known to the legislators. A non-significant correlation was also found between reported and perceived public endorsement at election time. What constitutes "public endorsement" may differ between superintendents and legislators. Finally, a positive but non-significant correlation was found between reported and perceived invitations to speak to a class or other groups of students (.30).

Summary. A positive relationship was found to exist between behavior as reported on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form) and behavior as reported on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form).

Therefore, Hypothesis 3 was rejected.

Since the N was small (26), these findings are intended to be suggestive rather than conclusive. Of the

seventy-two questionnaires completed by legislators, there were twenty-six pairs. That is questionnaires were completed and returned by both the representative and senator identified by twenty-six of the superintendents as the principal representatives of their school districts in the Michigan Legislature. Therefore these findings are based on twenty-six superintendents and their legislators.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, the data relative to the four major objectives which served as the basis for this study were presented.

Objective 1

Determine the level of understanding which Michigan public school superintendents have of those aspects of the legislative decision-making process deemed important for them to know.

The Legislative Decision Making Inventory was the instrument used to determine the superintendents' understanding of the decision-making process in the Michigan Legislature. Data gathered by means of this instrument were summarized.

Objective 2.

Determine the frequency with which Michigan public school superintendents use the various methods and

tactics available in their attempts to influence educational legislation.

The data gathered by means of the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form) were presented and analyzed. Means and standard deviations were reported for each of the influential behaviors.

Objective 3.

Determine the frequency with which Michigan public school superintendents use the various methods and tactics available to influence the legislators representing their school districts, as perceived by those legislators.

The influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form) was the instrument used to gather the data called for by Objective 3. The findings were presented and analyzed.

Objective 4.

Determine the relationship between the reported influential behavior of the superintendent, the superintendent's level of understanding of the legislative process, and the superintendent's attempts to influence the legislators representing his school district, as perceived by those legislators.

In this section, the hypotheses stated in Chapter 1 were analyzed.

Hypothesis 1. There is no relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and behavior as reported on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form).

On the basis of the statistical data gathered, the hypothesis was retained.

Hypothesis 2. There is no relationship between scores on the Legislative Decision Making Inventory and behavior as reported on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form).

No significant relationship was found. Therefore the hypothesis was retained.

Hypothesis 3. There is no relationship between behavior as reported on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form) and behavior as reported on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form).

A significant positive relationship was found to exist. The hypothesis was rejected.

The final chapter will be devoted to a summary of the research, conclusions, implications, and suggestions for further study.

Chapter 5

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This final chapter will be devoted to a summary of the study, followed by a discussion of the findings, and concluded with suggestions for further study.

SUMMARY

Background of the Study

In recent years, the role of the state legislature in educational policy-making has become increasingly visible and significant. The rising cost of education and pressure to shift part of the cost from local property taxes to other forms of taxation, wide disparity of resources for education in the various local school districts, the increased mobility of population within and among the states, and dissatisfaction with the quality of education are among the reasons.

Despite increasing participation by state legislatures in educational policy-making, previous studies have reported that local school superintendents attempted to exert little influence on even those legislative decisions which vitally affected their programs. Lack of understanding of

the legislative decision-making process was frequently suggested as a major reason for their failure to get involved. A review of the literature, however, revealed no studies attempting to assess the knowledge which superintendents have of the legislative decision-making process, nor studies attempting to determine whether a relationship does exist between the superintendents' knowledge of the process and their efforts to influence it.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to determine the understanding which Michigan public school superintendents have of the policy-making process of the Michigan Legislature, the frequency with which the superintendents use the various tactics and techniques available in their efforts to influence educational legislation, and whether there is a relationship between their understanding of the policy-making process of the Michigan Legislature and the frequency with which they use the various influential behaviors.

Design of the Study

The sources of data for this study were a group of randomly selected Michigan public school superintendents, and the state representative and senator identified as the principal legislative representatives of his school district by each of the superintendents who had been in position during the entire period studied.

Three instruments were constructed to collect the required data: Legislative Decision Making Inventory (LDMI), Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form), and Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form).

Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were computed to determine the relationships between the knowledge and influential behavior variables considered. All correlation coefficients were tested by making a z or t-test, using the .10 level of significance and the appropriate degrees of freedom.

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

Objective One

One objective of this study was to determine the level of understanding which superintendents have of those aspects of the legislative decision-making process deemed important for them to know. For purposes of this study, "level of understanding" was defined as the number of correct answers on the LDMI.

Finding. Scores on the fifty-two item LDMI ranged from a low of twenty-two to a high of forty-seven. The mean score for the sixty superintendents was thirty-eight (see Table 4 and Appendix O).

Discussion. The study revealed that Michigan school superintendents are deficient in their understanding of the policy-making process in the state legislature. Aspects of

the process considered important for superintendents to know if they are to participate effectively are not understood by many. In this respect, the "typical" Michigan superintendent may be much like the "average" voter described by Jewell:

From the viewpoint of the average voter, the legislative process is complex and confusing. The route that a bill must follow to passage is so tortuous that even the attentive citizen may lose track of it along the way. There are so many points at which critical decisions are made, sometimes behind the scenes, that even the best informed voter may be unable to determine who was responsible for blocking or amending a bill that interested him. . . . the average voter is woefully ignorant about the state legislature. He does not know what important bills are being considered or have been passed, and the subtle complexities of the legislative process are beyond his understanding and interest.¹

Examination of Appendix O suggests that the superintendents are best informed about those aspects of the process which might be considered "common knowledge," or which are self evident. For example, the fact that the choice of sponsor is important for interest groups desiring to have proposals introduced is generally understood, as is the fact that legislators consider the political ramifications of their vote. Aspects of the process mentioned with some frequency by the news media are also understood by most. For example, the power of committee chairmen is frequently referred to in the press--particularly in regard to the Congress--as is the fact that the legislative body seldom forces bills out of committees.

¹Malcolm E. Jewell, "The Political Setting," State Legislatures in American Politics, ed. Alexander Heard (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 95.

Less well understood are those aspects based on the interaction between participants which is at the heart of the legislative process:

On most bills majorities are the result of the legislative process, not the precondition for it. It is during the legislative process that the wide variety of interests and personalities bargain and compromise on a bill, and its provisions, which make it acceptable to at least a majority of the members.²

Many superintendents are not aware, for example, that legislators often encourage competing interest groups to reach a friendly resolution of differences and then return to the legislature for ratification of the agreement. The fact that legislators prefer to look to the governor to recommend ways of securing needed revenue rather than offer tax bills on their own is not well understood, nor is the fact that bills frequently "die in committee" because their sponsors make no effort to bring them to the floor.

Also not well understood by many superintendents is the process by which committees screen and reach decisions regarding legislative proposals. In view of the central role of committees in the legislative process, an understanding of the workings of the committee is very helpful--often indispensable--to those who desire to influence legislation:

The state legislatures could not operate without heavy reliance on their standing committees. The hundreds or thousands of bills introduced each session are normally referred by the presiding officer of each house to supposedly appropriate standing committees.

²Lewis A. Froman, Jr., The Congressional Process: Strategies, Rules, and Procedures (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1967), p. 19.

Except in those few states where committees must, under strict rules, report all bills back to their houses, most of these bills die in committee. If this were not true our legislatures would be in more nearly continuous session.

Committees are at the heart of the deliberative process as the legislatures participate in it. Here is where the notions about desirable policy changes on a subject are collected, where decisions are made on what is "important enough" to consider. Here is where relevant knowledge and impressions are exchanged and values compared in accepting or criticizing given bills or in choosing the words, phrases, and numbers for statutory language. Leaders may learn of relevant factual claims previously unknown or of sentiments previously unconsidered, but now expressed forcefully.³

Committee hearings are an important part of the committee process. Generally stated, hearings are efforts to get at the facts, hear all sides of the controversy, and educate the committee. Hearings are committee sessions for listening to witnesses. Personal notice is frequently sent to individuals, organizations, and agencies of the government known to be interested in the subject matter. Many superintendents are not aware of this.

Objective Two

A second objective of this study was to determine the frequency with which the superintendents use the various methods and tactics available in their attempts to influence educational legislation. Examination of the responses to the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form)--see Tables 5-7--revealed the following.

³Charles L. Clapp, The Congressman: His Work as He Sees It (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963), pp. 242-243.

Finding. The superintendents, as a group, were not highly organized or systematic in their efforts to influence educational legislation. With the exception of "becoming a candidate for election to the legislature," each of the various methods and tactics was used by some superintendents during the twelve-month period.

Many superintendents made little use of the various methods and tactics available.

Discussion. This finding is perhaps not surprising in view of the lack of agreement regarding what the nature of the local superintendent's involvement in state-level policy-making should be. A number of approaches were identified in the literature, each with its proponents and opponents. Each of these diverse and often conflicting recommended courses is followed by some Michigan superintendents. These include direct and forceful action (e.g., lobbying) by individual superintendents, working through a professional association, involvement in partisan politics, working through the Department of Education, becoming the educational advisor of an area legislator, and working through a board of education or other community group. The study also revealed that many Michigan superintendents follow no particular course of action, making little effort to become involved in the legislative policy-making process.

Evidence in the literature suggests that teachers may be better organized than superintendents in their efforts

to influence educational policy-decisions. When questioned about the constituents who contact them, legislators in California, New Jersey, and Tennessee were more likely to mention contacts by local teachers (including teachers' organizations) than by local school administrators and board members. In California, 40 percent of the legislator respondents were contacted by teachers, while only 24 percent reported being contacted by school officials. In New Jersey it was 54 percent to 24 percent, while in Tennessee 66 percent reported being contacted by teachers while only 13 percent were contacted by administrators and board members. Of the four states included in the study, only in Ohio did legislators report more contact from local school officials than from the teachers.⁴ Parrish noted the increase in organized activity by teachers in Oklahoma, and speculated that it might cause superintendents there to become more active:

Teachers are becoming more insistent and militant. They are demanding a larger and more meaningful share in the shaping of educational policies ... which may in turn alter the superintendents behavior regarding professional activities.⁵

Finding. The methods and tactics which the superintendents reported using most frequently involved discussing

⁴LeRoy C. Ferguson, How State Legislators View the Problem of School Needs (Washington, D.C.: USOE, Cooperative Research Project No. 532 (8166), 1960), pp. 31-32.

⁵Lonny R. Parrish, "A Study of the Communication Behavior of the Local Superintendent of Schools" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Oklahoma Graduate College, 1968), p. 87.

pending legislation with educators and board members, and attending meetings at which government officials discussed legislative topics. Methods and tactics involving communication through intermediaries, e.g., asking members of the board and staff to express their views to their legislators, were also favored.

In their personal communication with legislators regarding educational legislation, the superintendents wrote letters more frequently than they telephoned or talked with the lawmakers in person. Luncheon invitations and visits to the capitol offices of their representatives and senators were limited, as were invitations to visit schools to view programs in operation.

Discussion. These findings suggest that Michigan school superintendents are making little use of what may be the most effective techniques for gaining legislative support for their point of view.

Although little research exists concerning techniques most effective for local school superintendents, literature in the field of lobbying and interest groups provide some clues. One of the few studies that attempted to weigh the relative effectiveness of tactics of interest groups was based on interviews with nearly one-hundred lobbyists in Washington. Personal presentation of views was the tactic the lobbyists believed to be most effective.⁶ Marsolais, in

⁶Lester W. Milbrath, "Lobbying as a Communication Process," Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring, 1960, p. 37.

a study of forces which produce educational legislation in California, found that long term efforts to build a personal image of a knowledgeable, dependable and willing source of information on educational matters was the technique most effective for lobbyists attempting to influence the Miller-Unruh Basic Reading Act of 1965. Personal contact with legislators and staff members was the essential component of the four most effective techniques. Writing unsolicited letters to legislators was the technique least effective in influencing decisions about the Act.⁷ Niess identified fourteen methods of influence employed by pressure groups to influence state legislatures in decisions on educational legislation. He concluded that methods involving personal relationships or personal contacts with legislators are the most effective methods used by groups in securing support from the legislature. Though stimulated mail was used quite frequently by some of the groups studied, he found that this method apparently produced no positive results. Petitions and resolutions were not generally effective, either.⁸ In a similar study, Ness found that

⁷Robert J. Marsolais, "Forces Which Produce Educational Legislation in California: An Exploratory Study of the Miller-Unruh Basic Reading Act of 1965" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California, 1969), pp. 197-199.

⁸Charles F. Niess, "A Study of Some Forces Which Tend to Influence State Legislators in Decisions on Educational Legislation" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Colorado State College, 1962), pp. 212-215.

personal contacts by group members from the legislator's home district was the most effective technique, and that direct contact with the lawmakers was the essential component of the other techniques also considered quite effective. Resolutions, stimulated mail, and petitions were well down the list in terms of effectiveness.⁹

The importance of gaining the confidence of the lawmakers--preferably well in advance of the legislative session--is also stressed in the literature. Milbrath, in his study of the Washington lobbyists, noted that it was just as important to the lobbyist to keep his channels of communication open as it was to transmit the communications themselves.¹⁰ In other words, the lobbyists believed it was not enough just to be able to talk with a legislator, it was also necessary to establish rapport with him. Merriam and Goetz expressed a similar view:

Citizens are frequently baffled and distressed because they do not seem to be able to make a dent on official action. They watch with bewilderment, disappointment, and irritation the way in which lobbyists and other old hands confidently accomplish their objectives. The inexperienced citizen-politician is likely to jump to the conclusion that "there is something phony going on." But the controlling fact may be that professional suggestions are accepted because past associations and carefully built rapport have smoothed the path.¹¹

⁹Paul F. Ness, "Forces and Techniques Which Influence Educational Legislation in Colorado" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Colorado State College, 1966), p. 139.

¹⁰Milbrath, op. cit., p. 47.

¹¹Robert M. Merriam and Rachel M. Goetz, Going Into Politics (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), p. 106.

Developing a favorable legislative image prior to the legislative session was also emphasized by Rozzell:

Before you ask a legislator to support or oppose a particular measure, prove to him that your judgment is competent in some other area. This, of course, requires that you become acquainted well in advance of the time you wish to communicate with him.¹²

And Sarvis offered evidence supporting this advice. In an interview with the Honorable Herome Waldie, then Majority Leader of the California Assembly, the lawmaker stated:

The real impression is made by the school administrators in continued personal contact, not by their contact during pressured times, and not by their lobbyists.¹³

Truman made clear that early establishment of access is as important with legislative committees as it is with individual members of the legislature:

To be most effective, both direct and indirect access to the committee must have been established before, preferably long before, the executive deliberations begin.¹⁴

The tactics and techniques employed by Michigan superintendents in an effort to influence educational legislation are generally not those which the literature suggests

¹²Forrest Rozzell, "The Politics of Education: To Lobby or Not to Lobby" (paper read at the American Association of School Administrators convention, February, 1968, Atlantic City, New Jersey), p. 8.

¹³Robert E. Sarvis, "Legislative Specialization: A Study of the Effect of the Legislative Interim Committee on Education" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1968), p. 180.

¹⁴David B. Truman, The Governmental Process (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), p. 371.

are most effective. Communication through intermediaries is favored over direct personal contact, and efforts to open and maintain channels of communication with the lawmakers appear to be limited.

Finding. Few superintendents were asked by the Department of Education for their views on educational legislation. What communication did take place between superintendents and the Department was more likely to be initiated by the superintendents than the Department.

Discussion. Educational policy proposals introduced in the Michigan Legislature are analyzed by the Department of Education. These analyses discuss the effects of the bills on local school districts, and have an influence on the thinking of many legislators--both in committee and on the floor. Many of these bills, in fact, originate in the Department and are introduced by a sympathetic senator or representative. In Michigan, state departments, including the Department of Education, operate much like those in Indiana, as described by Wilder and O'Lessker:

Agencies of state government constitute ... one of the most important sources of information for the lawmaker. Virtually every bill that is proposed will either have to be administered by or have some impact upon an existing state agency. Those who will be affected in this way will quite properly want their positions clearly understood, and as favorably as possible, by the General Assembly. Moreover, a great many of the bills proposed actually originate in one or another of the state agencies and are sponsored by friendly members in each house. Hence, it has been customary for department heads and their principal assistants to prepare information hand-outs, testify before committees, and generally to conduct

themselves during the session pretty much as representatives of private interest groups do.¹⁵

This study has revealed that local school superintendents contribute little to the Department's legislative program, or to the analysis of the educational proposals which are initiated elsewhere. Although each proposal "will have to be administered by or have some impact upon" local school districts, the superintendents are seldom consulted by the Department.

Of the sixty-one superintendents completing the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form), thirteen reported being asked by the Department to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems; seventeen reported being asked for information regarding the effects certain bills then before the legislature would have on local school programs. Only seven of the sixty-one superintendents reported being asked by the Department to express their views on pending legislation to their representative or senator during the twelve-month period under consideration.

The Department of Education prides itself on the leadership it provides Michigan educators:

... The Department functions to guide and coordinate educational developments throughout the state, and it does this mainly by offering services to those persons who are directly responsible for providing all of the

¹⁵Philip S. Wilder, Jr. and Karl O'Lessker, Introduction to Indiana Government and Politics (Indianapolis: Indiana Sesquicentennial Commission, 1967), pp. 88-89.

pre-school-through-adult education in Michigan. This is really what the Michigan Department of Education is all about--leadership and services to those people who are themselves responsible for directly providing education to Michigan citizens.¹⁶

In the area of educational legislation, however, this leadership was not evident.

Finding. Most superintendents had little contact with the governor or members of his staff regarding educational legislation. Many had none. Communication that did take place was more likely to be initiated by the superintendents than the executive office.

Discussion. The governor's role in the legislative process is very important, as Jewell makes clear:

The point cannot be too strongly made that in the American states today the governor holds the initiative; he proposes and the legislature disposes. It is rare that an important legislative measure is passed that has not been initiated by the executive. The governor's monopoly in this area is probably greater than the President's; a closer comparison might be with the President's initiative on foreign policy legislation.¹⁷

That Governor William G. Milliken's position is enormously important in formulating Michigan educational plans and policy is obvious. Through his legislative program, with its emphasis on "educational reform," his budget message, his control over state finance, and the statewide attention given his opinions, the influence he exerts on educational legislation is potent.

¹⁶Michigan Department of Education, Annual Report: 1968-69 (Lansing, Michigan Department of Education, 1969), p. 1.

¹⁷Malcolm E. Jewell, The State Legislature (New York: Random House, 1966), p. 108.

Of the sixty-one superintendents completing the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form), eight reported being asked by the governor or his staff for information regarding the effects of certain bills on local school programs. Only two of the sixty-one reported being asked to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems. Superintendent initiated contact with the executive office was also quite limited. In view of the importance of the governor and his staff in determining, developing, and influencing the enactment of educational legislation in Michigan, the seeming lack of communication between local superintendents and the executive office is quite significant.

Finding. Although some communication regarding educational legislation took place between superintendents and their professional association, not all superintendents were asked for, or offered, their views.

Discussion. Some students of the educational policy-making process believe local superintendents are most effective if represented at the legislature by spokesmen for a strong statewide professional association. Although the study made no effort to judge the merits of this approach, the findings suggest that strong association led group action, on the part of superintendents is not the practice in Michigan. The findings further suggest that the state associations to which Michigan superintendents belong are much more inclined to react to proposals initiated by others

than to develop educational policy proposals for consideration by the legislature.

Fourteen of the superintendents completing the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form) reported being asked by a professional association to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems. Thirty-eight of the sixty-one superintendents reported being asked for information regarding the effects certain bills then before the legislature would have on local programs. Superintendent initiated communication to a professional association was more likely to be about the effects of certain laws on local school programs than about either the effects of certain bills on their programs or suggested legislative solutions to particular school problems.

Based on the data gathered, it appears that superintendents' associations in Michigan may be much like those described by Corey and Strickland:

... educational groups in this country generally have practiced considerable restraint in approaching lawmakers with their petitions, even though they have recognized that the lawmakers often were far behind in their thinking on educational matters.¹⁸

Objective Three

A third objective of the study was to determine the frequency with which the superintendents use the various

¹⁸A. F. Corey and R. H. Strickland, "Legislative Policies and Procedures Used by State Educational Associations" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1956), p. 3.

tactics and techniques available to influence the legislators representing their school districts, as perceived by those legislators. Examination of the responses to the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form)--see Table 9--revealed the following.

Finding. The legislators perceived the superintendents as making little use of the various tactics and techniques in an effort to inform and influence them regarding educational legislation. Representatives perceived the superintendents as making more frequent use of the various tactics and techniques than did the senators.

Discussion. That legislators perceived superintendents, in general, as making little use of the various tactics and techniques was evident not only in their responses to the items on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Legislator Form), but also in the comments they volunteered during the course of the study. One attached a note to the completed questionnaire, saying, "If all the kids failed their tests like the superintendents we should forget education. I would appreciate knowing the results." Another wrote, "I don't want this to sound derogatory, but I have had no contact with this gentleman to the best of my knowledge."

Several reasons were offered by senators as possible explanations for the lack of contact. These legislators were quite anxious to give the superintendents the benefit of the doubt. The possibility that the superintendent's

contacts may have been handled by staff members was suggested by several. One wrote:

... I did not have very much direct communication with (superintendent). Among the superintendents in (area of state), he is among the newest. Also, during part of his tenure as superintendent, I was Minority Leader with the help of staff. I believe that the executive assistant to the Senate Minority Leader handled most of the calls from (superintendent), rather than my doing so personally.

One senator who was asked to complete questionnaires for several superintendents returned them with the recommendation that the author of this study talk with a member of his staff:

None of these names are particularly familiar to me. Perhaps you should check with (assistant) on some of these questions. He might have handled them.

The size of the legislative district was also offered as a reason for the limited contact between superintendents and legislators. One wrote:

Please be advised that I have tried to work out the data for (superintendent) and gave up. The senate district is vast and comprises many school districts; hence I am able to provide meaningful information on only a few selected individuals without reference to my files, which are not accessible to me.

He then went on to mention, by name, several superintendents who had been actively interested in educational legislation and to describe their activities in some detail. This experience was repeated many times during the course of the study. Legislators, both senators and representatives, would apologize for their vagueness in describing the activity of a particular superintendent, then go on to discuss in

detail the efforts of another. Each made a point of saying that he'd been asked about the wrong superintendent or superintendents.

Most likely to be discussed by the legislators were superintendents who had maintained direct personal contact with them over a period of time. The response of the senator whose "district is vast and comprises many school districts" is a case in point:

... the (area) superintendents have rather consistently worked through (superintendent). He has contacted me in their collective behalf on practically all education issues. To a lesser extent (superintendent) was active on an individual basis.

In the (area), (superintendent) has acted for the several superintendents; and to a lesser extent (superintendent) occasionally contacted me on an individual basis.

This further suggests that the relatively impersonal tactics and techniques favored by many Michigan superintendents may not be the most effective technique for gaining support for their point of view from their representatives in the legislature.

The meetings which ranked high among tactics and techniques reported by the superintendents were referred to by several of the legislators. One representative wrote:

I have met with school officials of my three counties at least 10 times per year. At these meetings all air their views and ask about present and proposed legislation. I would say that they are well informed--maybe not happy, but informed. In fact the meetings start again this session--February 1st.

And one representative spoke for many legislators, I suspect,

when he indicated that he'd prefer to generally limit his contact with his superintendents to these monthly meetings:

I have fourteen school districts in my legislative district. All of my superintendents keep in touch, but it is impossible for me to single out any one of them as to their individual activity.

I meet regularly, once a month, with an informal educators group made up of all school superintendents, including the intermediate superintendents of (two counties). This year (county) has joined the group. Almost all my contacts with (superintendent) have been through this group--a highly satisfactory arrangement.

The last comment, in particular, suggests that studies on the effectiveness of the various superintendent initiated influential behaviors should be based on more than the evaluation of legislators.

That representatives perceived the superintendents as making more frequent use of the various tactics and techniques than did senators is perhaps not surprising. There are a number of factors which tend to promote closer contact with the representatives. For one, a senator serves approximately three times more people, and generally his district includes a greater number of school districts. Also, a representative has less staff than a senator; and must run for election every two years while senators serve for four. Nevertheless, approval of both chambers is required for passage of a bill, and educational legislation is introduced and debated in the senate as well as the house. Therefore efforts to inform and influence senators are no less important than like efforts with representatives.

Objective Four

The fourth and final objective of this study was to determine the relationship between the understanding which Michigan public school superintendents have of the legislative decision-making process in the Michigan Legislature and the types of behavior engaged in by the superintendents in an effort to influence educational decisions which are made by the legislature.

Finding. No significant relationship was found between the superintendents' level of understanding of the legislative decision-making process and the frequency with which they reported using the various tactics and techniques available in their attempts to influence educational legislation (Tables 10-12).

Discussion. Stated or implied in many studies dealing with the role of the legislature in educational policy-making is the proposition that increased knowledge of the legislative decision-making process will increase the educators' willingness to participate in, and ability to exert an influence on, that process. Although no studies were found to support this belief, the proposition has the "ring" of logic.

One important aspect of participation in the policy-making process is the frequency with which the person desiring to influence that process uses the various tactics and techniques available. This study sought to determine whether

a significant relationship existed between understanding of the legislative process, as measured by the LDMI, and the frequency with which the superintendents utilize the various influential behaviors. For purposes of this study, the behavior items on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form) were grouped into three broad categories:

(1) direct personal communication, (2) communication through intermediaries, and (3) efforts to keep channels of communication open. These groupings rather than the individual behavior items were used to determine the relationship between understanding and action. No significant relationship was found.

A significant positive relationship was found to exist between knowledge and several of the individual influential behaviors: (1) going to the legislature to "lobby" on a particular education issue (.35), (2) visiting the capitol office of the governor or members of his staff (.29), (3) telephone contact with district legislators regarding bills then before the legislature (.25), (4) publicizing the voting record of district legislators on certain education issues (.24), and (5) publicly endorsing a candidate for election to the office of governor (.24). However the correlations were low, and the number of behaviors too few to satisfy the requirements of the study. Further, a significant negative relationship was found between scores on the LDMI and being asked by the governor or his staff for suggestions

regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems (-.24). In light of this finding, one might wonder whether the executive office solicits suggestions for possible legislation from those superintendents least familiar with the realities of getting legislation passed. However this correlation was also quite low.

Other instruments, other designs, other samples may have yielded different results. However on the basis of this study it would appear that factors other than understanding of the legislative decision-making process determine the frequency with which Michigan superintendents use the various tactics and techniques available in their efforts to influence educational legislation.

Finding. No significant relationship was found between the superintendents' level of understanding of the legislative decision-making process and the frequency with which they used the various tactics and techniques available to influence the legislators representing their school districts, as perceived by those legislators (Tables 13-15).

Discussion. This finding lends support to the tentative conclusion discussed above, i.e., factors other than understanding of the legislative process determine the frequency with which superintendents utilize the various tactics and techniques available in their efforts to influence educational legislation. Although a significant positive relationship was found between scores on the LDMI and two of the

perceived influential behaviors--coming to the legislature to "lobby" on a particular education issue (.37), and inviting district legislators to speak to a class or other group of students (.38)--there were too few items to satisfy the requirements of the study.

This finding also tends to suggest that understanding of the legislative process does not cause a "halo" effect--with legislators perceiving knowledgeable superintendents to be more active in the use of various tactics and techniques than those with less understanding of the legislative decision-making process.

Finding. A significant positive relationship was found between the frequency with which the superintendents reported using the various tactics and techniques available to influence the legislators representing their school districts and the frequency with which they used the various tactics and techniques as perceived by the legislators representing their districts (Tables 16-18).

Discussion. Caution must be exercised in drawing conclusions from these findings. The N was small (26), therefore the findings are intended to be suggestive rather than conclusive. However, on the basis of the data, it would appear that, in general, the tactics and techniques which are based at least in part on direct contact with the legislators they are intended to influence are recognized and remembered by those legislators.

Support for this tentative conclusion can be found in the comments of participating legislators reported elsewhere in this chapter. Representatives and senators frequently apologized for their inability to provide information regarding the activities of a particular superintendent, then went on to discuss in detail the efforts of another. Without exception, the superintendents discussed by the legislators were those who had maintained direct personal contact with them.

This finding also lends support for the belief that the tactics and techniques generally favored by Michigan superintendents may not be the most effective for gaining the support of the legislators representing their school districts in the state legislature. Communication through intermediaries was seemingly preferred by the superintendents, however when questioned about the superintendents' utilization of these techniques most legislators refused to respond, pleading ignorance. Of the items to which the legislators did respond, the strongest correlations between reported and perceived behavior were generally those which brought the superintendent in direct, personal, and purposeful contact with legislators as opposed to those which could involve discussion or questions at meetings, interception of the superintendent's communication by the legislator's staff, or contact through other intermediaries.

ADDITIONAL FINDINGS

1. Further examination of the data yielded some additional clues regarding the possible effectiveness of the various tactics and techniques used by Michigan school superintendents in an effort to influence educational legislation.

Included on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form) were two items which sought to determine how frequently the superintendents' views on education matters requiring legislative action were solicited by the legislators representing their districts in the Michigan Legislature. These items were:

Was asked by "my" representative or senator to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems.

Was asked by "my" representative or senator for information regarding the effects certain bills then before the legislature would have on local school programs.

The frequency with which a superintendent's views were solicited by a legislator was assumed to be an indication of influence with that lawmaker.

Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were computed to determine the relationships between the various superintendent initiated influential behaviors and reported requests from legislators for their views. The obtained correlation coefficients were tested by making a z-test, using the .01 level of significance and the appropriate

degrees of freedom. The tests were two-tailed since it was desired to know whether there was a significant positive or negative relationship between the variables under consideration.

A significant positive relationship was found to exist between reported requests from the legislators and many of the superintendent initiated influential behaviors. These findings are reported in Table 19.

The .01 level of significance, rather than the .10 level utilized elsewhere in this study, was purposely selected by the researcher for purposes of analyzing the data. Since the evaluation of the effectiveness of the various reported influential behaviors was not one of the objectives of the study, the researcher believed it necessary to be more conservative in analyzing and reporting these findings.

Examination of Table 19 suggests that the superintendents whose views are sought by area legislators are those who actively work at establishing and maintaining a close relationship with them, and who make an effort to keep the legislators informed. A strong positive relationship was found to exist between legislator requests for the superintendents' views and superintendent initiated efforts to inform the legislator of the effects of various bills and laws on local school programs. In terms of method of contact, personal contact and telephone calls had a stronger

Table 19

Correlation Coefficients (Significant at the .01 Level) Between the Reported Influential Behavior Initiated by Superintendents and the Reported Requests from Legislators for the Superintendents' Views on Education Matters Requiring Legislative Action

Superintendent Initiated Influential Behavior	Superintendents' Views Requested Regarding Bills		Possible Legislation	
	df	r	df	r
<u>Personal Presentation of Views</u>				
5. ^a Expressed my views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to representatives or senators other than those representing my school district:				
a. By telephone.	48	.42		
b. By personal contact.	49	.65	49	.46
26. Went to the Legislature to lobby on a particular education issue.	59	.33		
30. Without being asked, informed "my" representative or senator of the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs:				
a. By telephone.	47	.64	47	.57
b. By personal contact	48	.67	48	.41
c. By letter.	53	.50	53	.39

continued

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^aNumber of the item on the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form).

Table 19--continued

	Superintendent Initiated Influential Behavior	Superintendents' Views Regarding Bills		Views Requested Regarding Possible Legislation	
		df	r	df	r
36.	Informed "my" representative or senator of the effects of certain <u>laws</u> on local school programs.	59	.55	59	.44
41.	Without being asked, made suggestions to "my" representative or senator regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems.	59	.44	59	.48
<u>Testifying at Hearings</u>					
9.	Presented unsolicited testimony regarding an educational issue before a committee of the legislature.	59	.34	59	.41
19.	Was invited by a committee of the legislature to present testimony regarding an education issue.	59	.48	59	.48
COMMUNICATION THROUGH INTERMEDIARIES					
<u>Constituents</u>					
6.	Conducted grassroots campaign to inform and arouse district residents regarding the need for particular school legislation.	59	.34	59	.36

continued

Table 19--continued

Superintendent Initiated Influential Behavior	Superintendents' Views Regarding Bills		Views Requested Regarding Possible Legislation	
	df	r	df	r
15. Sought the endorsement of local civic groups for an education issue requiring legislative action.	59	.40	59	.54
35. Publicized the voting record of "my" representative or senator on certain education issues.	59	.38	59	.40
44. Publicized the governor's position on certain education issues.	59	.42	59	.46
46. Invited the governor or members of his staff to take part in public meetings in which education issues requiring legislative action were discussed.	59	.39	59	.47
<u>Board and Staff</u>				
20. Asked members of the board of education to express their views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to legislators representing the school district.	58	.38		
42. Invited "my" representative or senator to discuss legislative topics with my board of education.	59	.44	59	.48
<u>Professional Association</u>				
55. Without being asked, informed my professional association of the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs.	59	.39		

continued

Table 19--continued

Superintendent Initiated Influential Behavior	Superintendents' Views Regarding Bills		Views Requested Regarding Possible Legislation	
	df	r	df	r
<u>Governor</u>				
47. Publicly endorsed a candidate for election to the office of governor	59	.42		
49. Visited the Capitol office of the governor or members of his staff.	59	.41	59	.39
51. Took members of the governor's staff to lunch.	59	.56	59	.68
<u>Other Groups</u>				
4. Sought the support of area Republican or Democrat Party organizations for an education issue requiring legislative action.	59	.36		
17. Joined with representatives of other interest groups (e.g., Farm Bureau, labor groups, etc.) in an effort to influence legislation.	59	.48	59	.43
EFFORTS TO KEEP CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION OPEN				
29. Invited "my" representative or senator to visit our schools to view certain programs in operation.	59	.55	59	.56

continued

Table 19--continued

Superintendent Initiated Influential Behavior	Superintendents' Views Requested Regarding Bills		Possible Legislation	
	df	r	df	r
31. Took "my" representative or senator to lunch.	59	.42	59	.65
37. Attended social activities at which "my" representative or senator was present.	59	.40	59	.35
39. Visited the Capitol office of "my" representative or senator.	58	.59	58	.55

relationship than did letters. Strong positive correlations were also found between legislator requests for the superintendents' views and efforts by the superintendent to keep channels of communication open: (1) visiting the legislator's capitol office, (2) inviting him to visit district schools to view certain programs in operation, and (3) taking him to lunch. Generally, those tactics and techniques which involved communication through intermediaries found to have a significant relationship to requests from the legislator were those which required the superintendent to take overt action which the legislator was apt to become aware of: (1) publicizing the governor's position and the legislator's voting record on certain education issues, (2) inviting the legislator to discuss legislative topics with the board of education, (3) joining with representatives of other interest groups in an effort to influence legislation, and (4) seeking the endorsement of local civic groups for an education issue requiring legislative action.

2. Superintendents completing the Influential Behavior Inventory (Superintendent Form) were asked how long they had been in their present position. Fifty-nine responded to this item. Length of service in present position ranged from several months to twenty-eight years. The mean and standard deviation were 5.7 and 5.6, respectively.

Examination of the data revealed no significant relationship between length of service and being asked by

district legislators for either information regarding the effects certain bills would have on local programs, or suggestions for possible legislation to solve particular school problems. This finding suggests that length of service in their district is not considered by legislators to be an important criterion when deciding which of the available sources to turn to for information regarding the effect of educational legislation on the schools they represent.

No significant relationship was found between length of service in position and either the superintendents' level of understanding of the legislative process or the frequency with which they used the various tactics and techniques in an effort to influence it.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. In view of the limited research on the relationship between the superintendent's understanding of the legislative process and his efforts to influence that process (no other studies were identified in the literature), further investigation seems warranted. Do superintendents with "high knowledge" utilize different methods of approaching the lawmakers than do those with "low knowledge" of the legislative process? Does a course or seminar on the legislative process stimulate greater participation? Is there a significant relationship between the superintendent's understanding of the legislative decision-making process and:

His belief in his ability to produce desired behavior on the part of members of the legislature? His image and expectation of members of the legislature? His image in the eyes of his legislator, on a positive-negative dimension? The likelihood of a legislator acting upon information provided by him?

2. What should be the role of the superintendent in the educational decision-making process at the state-level? A number of diverse and often conflicting recommendations were identified in the literature. Given the pattern of educational policy-making that exists in Michigan, what is the most appropriate behavior for Michigan superintendents?

3. Of all of the tactics and techniques available to influence the legislators representing his school district, which are most effective for the typical Michigan superintendent?

4. There are many sources of information and advice available to Michigan legislators. What is the basis of the selectivity of legislators? Being one source among many available, how do superintendents become selected?

5. What are the major sources from which the governor and his staff acquire information and knowledge of school problems and needs? What are the means or channels through which requests, demands, and petitions of local school districts are communicated to the executive office?

6. What are the major sources from which the Department of Education draws the information and knowledge on which to base its legislation program? Its analyses of the effects of legislative proposals on local school programs? How do superintendents go about having an effect on the Department's legislative program?

7. Are superintendents now participating in the state-level educational policy-making process in a manner they perceive to be appropriate? Is there a significant difference between their "actual behavior" and their "ideal behavior"?

8. Is the superintendent's restraint in participating in the legislative policy-making process due to: Lack of commitment? Idealism and naivete about how political decisions are made? Desire to avoid conflict? Lack of useful techniques for working with legislators?

REFLECTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

For more than a year the researcher was deeply immersed in the policy-making process of the Michigan Legislature. This was partly due to activities related to the research project, and partly due to personal involvement in the process as the Executive Assistant to the Majority Leader of the Michigan Senate. Reflecting on these experiences, two related observations with implications for this study stand out.

First, the Michigan Legislature (and perhaps all state legislatures) has more to do with determining the character of its state's public school systems than any other group, including educators. What the legislators do controls significantly what the educators can do:

(Legislators) control the purse strings of the principal sources of financial support. They frame the limits of local school board actions. They can facilitate or stymie educational change. They can initiate new educational programs and alter or abolish existing programs. They establish priorities in the use of public resources. All permanent progress in the field of education depends fundamentally on their decisions.¹⁹

Because of a growing public concern with public education, the legislators are seemingly assuming an increasingly visible role in educational policy-making. And, as the interconnection of education with all aspects of the state's life continues to increase, the significance of legislative actions and attitudes in educational matters will likewise increase.

Second, anyone desiring to exert an influence on the legislative policy-making process must have at least a general understanding of the factors that control the passage and defeat of bills in the legislature. Many intelligent people who are interested in seeing good legislation think that it is sufficient to vote for the candidates of their choice on election day. Others go beyond that and communicate with their legislators occasionally. Their actions,

¹⁹Rozzell, The Politics of Education, pp. 6-7.

however, are oftentimes misdirected because they are not familiar with the procedures of legislation. Senator Thomas Schweigert, then acting lieutenant governor of Michigan, talked to that point:

Since many people have either no knowledge, or misguided knowledge, of how to approach a legislator, I'd like to tell you a little bit about our operation and how you might best go about establishing good rapport with your lawmaker.

If I wanted to get a sympathetic hearing on professional problems from a legislator, I would consider personal contact most important--especially if that contact were made when the legislature was not in session.

One of the biggest mistakes that professional people make is that they wait until their issue is before the legislature and then they fill the capitol with emotionally-charged telegrams.

This is one of the worst ways to do it. By that time, hearings have been held, bills have been discussed in committee, and most legislators couldn't care less whether thousands of telegrams flooded their offices....

Pre-printed cards often flood the legislature in like manner. They have even less influence on legislation in most instances....

Lacking good, sincere, personal contact with a legislator, I would say the best bet is a sincere, well-reasoned letter that shows the writer's knowledge of his subject.

Such letters, of course, should be written without any sign of threat of retaliation against a legislator if he does not vote the way the writer advocates. Such threats are common to legislators and, I would say, do no good....

One thing I might caution you about--don't scatter-gun your efforts. If you are interested in pending legislation, work through your own senator or representative. It will do you little good, I would say, to bombard senators from other districts about your problem.

There is one exception, of course. If a bill is in committee, you might score some "brownie points" by

getting in touch with the chairman of that committee--or even some committee members....

... All too many people take no active interest in their state government until something affects them adversely--like the income tax, open housing or any of a number of similar topics....

... Don't take an active interest in your government only when you want something for yourself. That is the trouble with too many people. They take no interest until it is too late.²⁰

To be effective, citizens must be informed and their actions carefully thought out. Knowledge of legislative procedure is essential.

In this regard, the researcher is firmly convinced that professional educators must recognize and understand the processes and procedures which are used in the legislative consideration of educational issues. Failure to understand the process may not only limit the effectiveness of their efforts to exert an influence on that process, but may also result in poor, inaccurate, and incomplete observation. For example, observers of the legislature will simply miss certain important "plays" and will not understand the significance of moves and countermoves unless they are aware of the alternatives which may be used by the participants to achieve legislative ends.²¹ Also, the inability to "understand the legislatures' processes does not necessarily breed

²⁰Senator Thomas W. Schweigert, excerpt from speech to Odd Fellows Lodge, Laingsburg, Michigan, April 26, 1969.

²¹Froman, The Congressional Process, p. xi.

distrust, but it seems likely to stifle interest."²² Some of the consequences of the failure to understand the policy-making process in the Congress have been well summed up by Clapp; his observations apply equally to the state legislature:

Many Congressmen attribute the failure of people to appreciate the Congressman and the work he does to widespread ignorance regarding the mechanics of the congressional operation. The public, it is said, tends to oversimplify the process and is incapable of grasping its intricacies. It does not understand that legislation itself is complicated and often not easy to appraise. As one Congressman said: "This government is so complicated and people just don't realize it. They tend to equate legislation as being either good or bad. They oversimplify the problem. All legislation has some good and some bad in it, and it is a matter of determining where the balance is."

... "The public feels that if you understand a problem exists and is acute you can solve it quickly by introducing corrective legislation," stated one member. "People don't understand the parliamentary situation or how things get passed. They think the minute you see the light you can achieve your goal. That just isn't true."²³

Educators who understand the political process are likely to be more effective leaders in educational improvement. They will be considerate of the difficulties involved in gaining legislative support for educational proposals.

²²William J. Keefe, "The Functions and Powers of the State Legislature," State Legislatures in American Politics, ed. Alexander Heard (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 61.

²³Clapp, The Congressman, pp. 483-484.

Implications for Colleges of
Education

The need for school administrators to understand the legislative policy-making process suggests that in their program of preparation major attention should be given to the reality of politics. There is a need not only to draw on the concepts and research of the social sciences where political behavior has been systematically analyzed, but to extend these concepts from the campus to the real world, as well. In addition to the typical college-based courses and seminars, opportunities must be provided for administrators to meet with legislators and to view the legislative process through their eyes. Although it may not be possible for all administrators to have first-hand experience as legislative employees, alternative experiences designed to give them a "feel" for the legislature should be planned. As Dexter makes clear, it is important to acquire a Capitol point of view:

I doubt very much whether there is any substitute for learning the Washington atmosphere; only a real political genius can get along as well in government relations without knowing how to handle cues and clues from a Washington point of view....

However, a man who is Washington-based will usually find himself, to some extent, in difficulties with his home-based colleagues, clients, or employers. A representative of a business firm who acquires Washington viewpoints, or who even tries to explain to top management what Washington's viewpoint is, is under suspicion. He is no longer one of the group; he is speaking for an

"alien influence," talking "politically" rather than with business sense.²⁴

Internships, or other field experiences for which course credit is given might be arranged. Perhaps some administrators in training could be placed in legislative and other government offices in much the same way teachers in training receive student teaching.

Further, given the increasing involvement of the legislature in educational policy-making, it is desirable that those responsible for the training of administrators have had some first-hand experience in the legislative process. This is particularly true of those involved in programs intended to familiarize the administrators with the policy-making process--an understanding of the legislature's point of view would seem to be an essential prerequisite. As a result of his experience as a member of the staff of the Michigan Legislature, the researcher is firmly convinced there is no better way to develop an understanding of the processes and procedures which are used in the legislative consideration of educational issues than direct participation in the legislative policy-making process. Colleges of education are encouraged, therefore, to aggressively seek opportunities for selected members of the faculty to work with legislative committees as consultants and

²⁴Lewis A. Dexter, How Organizations are Represented in Washington (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1969), pp. 12-13.

resource persons, and should also consider offering leaves to permit employment on the staff of the legislature or executive office. It is recognized that all professors may not have an interest in the workings of the legislature, the ability to relate effectively with members of the legislature, nor an appreciation of the fact that it requires a very special kind of ego to survive the trials and tribulations of the election process.

Implications for Professional Associations

Professional associations, too, have a role to play in the training of school administrators. Through conferences, conventions, and seminars, these associations--individually and collectively--attempt to contribute to the inservice development of their members. One example of these efforts was a series of association sponsored seminars on "School Management Problems" held throughout the State of Michigan during the spring of 1971. The seminars were sponsored by the Michigan Association of School Boards and the Michigan Association of School Administrators, in cooperation with the Michigan Association of Secondary School Principals, the Michigan Association of Elementary School Principals, and the Michigan Congress of School Administrator Associations.

Professional associations should join with the colleges in providing school administrators with pre-service

and in-service experiences in the legislative policy-making process. One possibility might be a workshop similar to that conducted by the researcher during his period of service as an employee of the Michigan Senate:

Thirty school administrators from the 19 constituent school districts of the Kent Intermediate School District spent Wednesday, February 10th, in the capitol as guests of Senator Robert VanderLaan of the 31st Senatorial District.

Senator VanderLaan arranged the legislative workshop as a service to school administrators in cooperation with Albert L. Deal, Kent Intermediate Superintendent. Mr. Kenneth DePree, Executive Assistant to the Senate Majority Leader, conducted the all day meeting.

The first meeting of the morning was spent with Mr. Charles Greenleaf, Assistant to the Governor for Policies and Program (education), who discussed in detail the functions of the executive office in the educational policy making process.

Senator Anthony Stamm, Vice Chairman of the Senate Education Committee, Representative Lucille McCollough, Chairman of the House Education Committee, and Representative Clifford Smart, House Minority Leader, discussed the functions of the Legislature in the educational policy making process. They spent a major portion of their time discussing the functions of the education committees.

A luncheon was held by the Kent administrators for legislators from Kent County. Also attending were the program participants.

The afternoon sessions opened with a detailed discussion of the process whereby an idea finally becomes law. Senator VanderLaan discussed the process of introducing legislation, committee review, passage by one chamber and the process followed in the other chamber of the legislature. He covered the conference committee process and the alternatives open to the executive office after a bill has passed the legislature. Senator Milton Zaagman discussed in detail the different methods whereby legislators approach legislation that is placed before them.

Three legislative agents, representing three Michigan school districts or groups of districts, discussed their functions in determining educational policy and in bringing ideas to law: J. C. Kolderman, Jr., Grand Rapids; Richard Smith, City of Detroit; and Gerald Dunn, Metropolitan Detroit Council, stressed the methods which they use in getting information to legislators and maintaining contact with legislation affecting education.

The final session of the day was a presentation by Gerald Faverman, Fiscal Analyst of the Legislative Fiscal Agency. Mr. Faverman discussed the problems in trying to keep all units of government happy and still trying to live within the income of the state. He discussed the process of analyzing budgets, keeping up-to-date with current practices, and spreading the tax dollar where it will do the most good in light of the goals set by society.²⁵

The associations should also take the lead in initiating efforts to determine what the role of the local school superintendent in the educational decision-making process at the state level should be, and to determine which of the tactics and techniques available to influence the legislators representing his school district are most effective for the typical Michigan superintendent.

Implications for High Schools

The study of state government and politics is essential to the proper performance of the responsibilities of citizenship. The rapid growth in governmental functions and services during recent decades has made such study of increased importance. The findings of this study, however,

²⁵Donald S. Brumbaugh, "Kent Intermediate School District Legislative Workshop," M.A.S.A. Reflections, February, 1971, p. 3.

suggest that the high schools have not equipped their students to understand the policy-making process of the legislature. This view is supported by the literature; Jewell is a case in point:

... the average voter is woefully ignorant about the state legislature. He does not know what important bills are being considered or have been passed, and the subtle complexities of the legislative process are beyond his understanding and interest.²⁶

With the prospect that many high school students will be voting in state and national elections before graduation, the need--and the opportunity--to focus on the policy-making process have never been greater.

²⁶Malcolm E. Jewell, The State Legislature (New York: Random House, 1962).

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL SENT TO SUPERINTENDENTS WITH THE
INFLUENTIAL BEHAVIOR INVENTORY (LEGISLATOR FORM)

1616 Cambria Drive
East Lansing, Michigan 48823
December 9, 1970

Inside Address

Dear _____:

You are one of 64 superintendents selected to take part in a study regarding superintendents and the legislature. This study has the active endorsement of the Michigan Association of School Administrators, and is being conducted under the direction of the College of Education, Michigan State University.

Enclosed is a questionnaire which asks you to describe, as accurately as you can, your activity during the past 12 months with regard to educational decision making at the state level. You are also asked for the name of the Senator and the Representative you consider the principal representatives of your school district in the Michigan Legislature. Since only a small sample of superintendents is involved, every questionnaire is vitally important to the end results.

For purposes of this study, you have been assigned a number--your number is marked in the upper left hand corner of the questionnaire. A second questionnaire will be sent you in the near future; this number insures that the results of both will be properly compiled. Please be assured, however, that no superintendent, legislator, or school district will be identified in the results of the study. All replies will be treated statistically.

Please complete the questionnaire as accurately as you can. Tests have shown that it will take you about 15 minutes. There are no right or wrong answers; report only your actual activity during the past 12 months with regard to educational decision making at the state level. Upon completion of the study, you will be sent a summary of the results.

I would appreciate your returning the questionnaire to me by December 23rd. A stamped, self addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely,

Kenneth R. De Pree
Project Director

APPENDIX B

LETTER OF ENDORSEMENT SENT TO SUPERINTENDENTS
INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE STUDY

MICHIGAN ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

1019 Trowbridge Road
East Lansing, Michigan 48823

Telephone 351-9410
Area Code 517

Office of the Executive Secretary

December 9, 1970

Dear Superintendent:

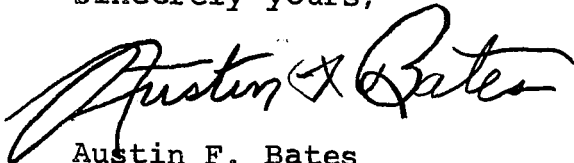
As you know, the role of our members in state level educational policy making has received major emphasis this year. There was considerable discussion regarding this topic on the Island, and further attention is contemplated for our upcoming conference in Grand Rapids.

The enclosed questionnaire is part of a study which may shed further light on this subject. Your Board of Directors has endorsed this study, believing it will assist M.A.S.A. in efforts to become more influential in the educational policy making process in the Michigan Legislature. The study is being conducted by Mr. Kenneth De Pree, under the direction of the College of Education, Michigan State University. Formerly superintendent of the Northview Public Schools, Ken is presently serving as Assistant to the Majority Leader, Michigan Senate.

You are one of 64 superintendents randomly selected to take part in this study. I hope that you will find it possible to participate.

Although the findings of this study will be published, neither you nor your school district will be identified in any way. Consequently, I urge you to complete the questionnaire as accurately as you can. The extent to which the study will benefit M.A.S.A. is directly related to the candor of the participants.

Sincerely yours,



Austin F. Bates
Executive Secretary

APPENDIX C

FOLLOW-UP LETTER TO SUPERINTENDENTS REGARDING THE INFLUENTIAL
BEHAVIOR INVENTORY (SUPERINTENDENT FORM)

1616 Cambria Drive
East Lansing, Michigan 48823
December 24, 1970

Inside Address

Dear _____:

Several weeks ago you were sent a letter asking you to participate in a study regarding superintendents and the legislature. Included was a questionnaire for you to complete and return.

Since your completed questionnaire has not been received, I'm assuming the previous letter (or your response) was either lost in the Christmas mail or overlooked in the excitement of a busy holiday season.

Every questionnaire is vitally important; only 64 superintendents have been selected to take part. Will you cooperate in this study by completing the enclosed questionnaire at your earliest convenience and returning it in the stamped, self addressed envelope provided for your use?

Happy New Year!

Sincerely,

Kenneth R. De Pree

APPENDIX D

INFLUENTIAL BEHAVIOR INVENTORY (SUPERINTENDENT FORM)

INFLUENTIAL BEHAVIOR INVENTORY

Superintendent Form

PURPOSE OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE:

On the following pages are some statements about ways in which a school superintendent might become involved in educational decision making at the state level. Each item describes a specific kind of activity, but it does not ask to judge whether the activity is desirable or undesirable. Each item should be considered a separate description.

Although some items may appear similar, each is a separate statement about how a school superintendent might become involved in educational decision making.

There are no right or wrong answers. This is not a test of ability or consistency in making answers. Its only purpose is to make it possible for you to describe, as accurately as you can, your activity during the past twelve (12) months with regard to educational decision making at the state level.

Neither you nor your school district will be identified in the reporting of the results of this study. All replies will be treated statistically.

Directions:

1. Read each item carefully.
2. Think about how frequently you have engaged in the activity described by that item DURING THE PAST 12 MONTHS
3. Draw a circle around one of the five choices (0 1-3 4-6 7-9 10-+) following the item to show how frequently you have acted as described by the item during the past twelve months.

0 = Never

1-3 = One to three times

4-6 = Four to six times

7-9 = Seven to nine times

10-+ = Ten or more times

4. Mark your answers as shown in the example below.

Example: During the past 12 months
I never engaged in the
described activity..... ☒ 0 1-3 4-6 7-9 10-+

Example: During the past 12 months
I engaged in the described
activity seven times..... 0 1-3 4-6 ☒ 7-9 10-+

Example: During the past 12 months
I engaged in the described
activity two times..... 0 ☒ 1-3 4-6 7-9 10-+

Example: During the past 12 months
I engaged in the described
activity fifteen times.... 0 1-3 4-6 7-9 ☒ 10-+

5. PLEASE RESPOND TO EACH ITEM AS ACCURATELY AS YOU CAN.

6. When you have completed the questionnaire, please return it to:

Kenneth De Pree
1616 Cambria Drive
East Lansing, Michigan 48823

A stamped, self addressed envelope has been provided for your convenience.

DURING THE PAST 12 MONTHS I--Number of Times

- | | | | | | |
|--|---|-----|-----|-----|------|
| 1.--met with other educators to discuss legislative topics..... | 0 | 1-3 | 4-6 | 7-9 | 10-+ |
| 2.--discussed with members of the school staff the effect of certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature on local school programs..... | 0 | 1-3 | 4-6 | 7-9 | 10-+ |
| 3.--encouraged district residents to petition the legislators representing our school district regarding an education issue requiring legislative action..... | 0 | 1-3 | 4-6 | 7-9 | 10-+ |
| 4.--sought the support of area Republican or Democrat Party organizations for an education issue requiring legislative action..... | 0 | 1-3 | 4-6 | 7-9 | 10-+ |
| 5.--expressed my views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to representatives or senators <u>other than those</u> representing my school district: | | | | | |
| a. By telephone..... | 0 | 1-3 | 4-6 | 7-9 | 10-+ |
| b. By personal contact.... | 0 | 1-3 | 4-6 | 7-9 | 10-+ |
| c. By letter..... | 0 | 1-3 | 4-6 | 7-9 | 10-+ |
| 6.--conducted grassroots campaign to inform and arouse district residents regarding the need for particular school legislation..... | 0 | 1-3 | 4-6 | 7-9 | 10-+ |
| 7.--served on a professional association or state department committee seeking legislative action..... | 0 | 1-3 | 4-6 | 7-9 | 10-+ |
| 8.--discussed with my board of education the effect of certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature on local school programs.. | 0 | 1-3 | 4-6 | 7-9 | 10-+ |
| 9.--presented unsolicited testimony regarding an education issue before a committee of the legislature..... | 0 | 1-3 | 4-6 | 7-9 | 10-+ |

<u>DURING THE PAST 12 MONTHS I--</u>	<u>Number of Times</u>				
10.--contributed to the election campaign fund of candidates for election to the legislature.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
11.--encouraged school district residents to be present in the chamber on the day the legislature voted on a certain education issue.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
12.--attended meetings at which legislators, the governor, or members of his staff discussed legislative topics.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
13.--promoted the establishment of a local citizens' committee to seek legislative action.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
14.--asked members of the school staff to express their views on certain bills then before the legislature to their representative or senator.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
15.--sought the endorsement of local civic groups for an education issue requiring legislative action.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
16.--stimulated district residents to write letters to the governor about certain education issues.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
17.--joined with representatives of other interest groups (e.g., Farm Bureau, labor groups, etc.) in an effort to influence legislation.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
18.--publicly endorsed candidates for election to the legislature.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
19.--was invited by a committee of the legislature to present testimony regarding an education issue.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+

<u>DURING THE PAST 12 MONTHS I--</u>	<u>Number of Times</u>				
20.--asked members of the board of education to express their views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to legislators representing the district.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
21.--circulated nominating petitions for candidates for election to the legislature.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
22.--asked particular individuals to call upon specified legislators to discuss certain education issues.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
23.--stimulated school district residents to write letters about certain education issues to the legislators representing the school district...	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
24.--became a candidate for election to the legislature.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
25.--asked members of the school staff for suggestions regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
26.--went to the legislature to "lobby" on a particular education issue.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
27.--attended meetings at which State Department of Education representatives discussed legislative topics.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
28.--asked members of my board of education to express their views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to their school board association	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+

DURING THE PAST 12 MONTHS I--Number of TimesLegislators Representing My School District

29.--invited "my" representative or senator to visit our schools to view certain programs in operation.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
30.--without being asked, informed "my" representative or senator of the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs:					
a. By telephone.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
b. By personal contact....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
c. By letter.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
31.--took "my" representative or senator to lunch.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
32.--was asked by "my" representative or senator to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
--if asked, suggested possible legislation to solve particular school problems.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
33.--invited "my" representative or senator to discuss education matters with other educators..	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
34.--requested "my" representative or senator to take part in public meetings in which education issues requiring legislative action were discussed....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
35.--publicized the voting record of "my" representative or senator on certain education issues.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
36.--informed "my" representative or senator of the effects of certain <u>laws</u> on local school programs.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+

<u>DURING THE PAST 12 MONTHS I--</u>	<u>Number of Times</u>				
37.--attended social activities at which "my" representative or senator was present.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
38.--was asked by "my" representative or senator for information regarding the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
--if asked, informed "my" representative or senator of the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
39.--visited the Capitol office of "my" representative or senator	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
40.--invited "my" representative or senator to speak to a class or other group of students.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
41.--without being asked, made suggestions to "my" representative or senator regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
42.--invited "my" representative or senator to discuss legislative topics with the board of education.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+

The Governor and his Staff

43.--informed the governor or his staff of the effects of certain <u>laws</u> on local school programs.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
44.--publicized the governor's position on certain education issues.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
45.--was asked by the governor or his staff for information regarding the effects of certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature on local school programs.	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+

<u>DURING THE PAST 12 MONTHS I--</u>	<u>Number of Times</u>				
--if asked, informed the governor or his staff of the effects certain bills then before the legislature would have on local school programs.	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
46.--invited the governor or members of his staff to take part in public meetings in which education issues requiring legislative action were discussed.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
47.--publicly endorsed a candidate for election to the office of governor.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
48.--without being asked, made suggestions to the governor or his staff regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
49.--visited the Capitol office of the governor or members of his staff.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
50.--without being asked, informed the governor or his staff of the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
51.--took members of the governor's staff to lunch.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
52.--was asked by the governor or his staff to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
--if asked, suggested possible legislation to solve particular school problems.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+

Professional Association (for example, MASA)

53.--informed my professional association of the effects of certain <u>laws</u> on local school programs.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
---	---	-----	-----	-----	------

<u>DURING THE PAST 12 MONTHS I--</u>	<u>Number of Times</u>				
54.--was asked by my professional association to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
--if asked, suggested possible legislation to solve particular school problems.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
55.--without being asked, informed my professional association of the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs.	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
56.--was asked by my professional association to express my views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to my representative or senator.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
--if asked, expressed my views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to my representative or senator.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
57.--without being asked, made suggestions to my professional association regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
58.--was asked by my professional association for information regarding the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local programs.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
--if asked, informed my professional association of the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+

State Department of Education

59.--was asked by the State Department of Education to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
--	---	-----	-----	-----	------

<u>DURING THE PAST 12 MONTHS I--</u>	<u>Number of times</u>				
--if asked, suggested possible legislation to solve particular school problems.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
60.--informed the State Department of Education of the effects of certain <u>laws</u> on local school programs.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
61.--was asked by the State Department of Education for information regarding the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
--if asked, informed the State Department of Education of the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school program..	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
62.--without being asked, made suggestions to the State Department of Education regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
63.--without being asked, informed the State Department of Education of the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
64.--was asked by the State Department of Education to express my views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to my representative or senator..	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
--if asked, expressed my views on certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature to my representative or senator.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+

No. _____

Information

Please complete the following.

1. Date you began as superintendent of present
district _____

2. Legislators you consider to be the principal
representatives of your school district in the
Michigan Legislature:

Senator _____

Representative _____

3. If there are other legislators generally considered
to represent your school district, please list them
below:

Senator _____

Representative _____

APPENDIX E

INFLUENTIAL BEHAVIOR INVENTORY (SUPERINTENDENT FORM)
ITEMS GROUPED BY GENERAL CATEGORY

INFLUENTIAL BEHAVIOR INVENTORY (SUPERINTENDENT FORM)
ITEMS GROUPED BY GENERAL CATEGORY

Direct Personal Communication

5. Expressed my views on certain bills then before the legislature to representatives or senators other than those representing my school district:
 - a. By telephone.
 - b. By personal contact.
 - c. By letter.
9. Presented unsolicited testimony regarding an educational issue before a committee of the legislature.
19. Was invited by a committee of the legislature to present testimony regarding an educational issue.
26. Went to the legislature to "lobby" on a particular education issue.
30. Without being asked, informed "my" representative or senator of the effects certain bills then before the legislature would have on local school programs:
 - a. By telephone.
 - b. By personal contact.
 - c. By letter.
32. Was asked by "my" representative or senator to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems.

If asked, suggested possible legislation to solve particular school problems.
36. Informed "my" representative or senator of the effects of certain laws on local school programs.

¹Milbrath and De Vries divided the total techniques of lobbying into three broad categories: (1) direct personal communication, (2) communication through intermediaries, and (3) keeping channels of communication open. See Lester W. Milbrath, "Lobbying as a Communication Process," Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring, 1960, pp. 32-53; and Walter D. De Vries, "The Michigan Lobbyist: A Study of the Bases and Perceptions of Effectiveness" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1960), pp. 142-209.

38. Was asked by "my" representative or senator for information regarding the effects certain bills then before the legislature would have on local school programs.

If asked, informed "my" representative or senator of the effects certain bills then before the legislature would have on local school programs.

41. Without being asked, made suggestions to "my" representative or senator regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems.
56. Was asked by my professional association to express my views on certain bills then before the legislature to my representative or senator.

If asked, expressed my views on certain bills then before the legislature to my representative or senator.

64. Was asked by the State Department of Education to express my views on certain bills then before the legislature to my representative or senator.

If asked, expressed my views on certain bills then before the legislature to my representative or senator.

Communication Through Intermediaries

1. Met with other educators to discuss legislative topics.
2. Discussed with members of the school staff the effect of certain bills then before the legislature on local school programs.
3. Encouraged district residents to petition the legislators representing our school district regarding an education issue requiring legislative action.
4. Sought the support of area Republican or Democrat Party organizations for an education issue requiring legislative action.
6. Conducted grassroots campaign to inform and arouse district residents regarding the need for particular school legislation.

7. Served on a professional association or state department committee seeking legislative action.
8. Discussed with my board of education the effect of certain bills then before the legislature on local school programs.
11. Encouraged school district residents to be present in the chamber on the day the legislature voted on a certain education issue.
12. Attended meetings at which legislators, the governor, or members of his staff discussed legislative topics.
13. Promoted the establishment of a local citizens' committee to seek legislative action.
14. Asked members of the school staff to express their views on certain bills then before the legislature to their representative or senator.
15. Sought the endorsement of local civic groups for an education issue requiring legislative action.
16. Stimulated district residents to write letters to the governor about certain education issues.
17. Joined with representatives of other interest groups (e.g., Farm Bureau, labor groups, etc.) in an effort to influence legislation.
20. Asked members of the board of education to express their views on certain bills then before the legislature to legislators representing the district.
22. Asked particular individuals to call upon specified legislators to discuss certain education issues.
23. Stimulated school district residents to write letters about certain education issues to the legislators representing the school district.
25. Asked members of the school staff for suggestions regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems.
27. Attended meetings at which State Department of Education representatives discussed legislative topics.

28. Asked members of my board of education to express their views on certain bills then before the legislature to their school board association.
33. Invited "my" representative or senator to discuss education matters with other educators.
34. Requested "my" representative or senator to take part in public meetings in which education issues requiring legislative action were discussed.
35. Publicized the voting record of "my" representative or senator on certain education issues.
42. Invited "my" representative or senator to discuss legislative topics with the board of education.
43. Informed the governor or his staff of the effects of certain laws on local school programs.
44. Publicized the governor's position on certain education issues.
45. Was asked by the governor or his staff for information regarding the effects of certain bills then before the legislature on local school programs.

If asked, informed the governor or his staff of the effects certain bills then before the legislature would have on local school programs.

46. Invited the governor or members of his staff to take part in public meetings in which education issues requiring legislative action were discussed.
48. Without being asked, made suggestions to the governor or his staff regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems.
50. Without being asked, informed the governor or his staff of the effects certain bills then before the legislature would have on local school programs.
52. Was asked by the governor or his staff to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems.

If asked, suggested possible legislation to solve particular school problems.

53. Informed my professional association of the effects of certain laws on local school programs.
54. Was asked by my professional association to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems.

If asked, suggested possible legislation to solve particular school problems.

55. Without being asked, informed my professional association of the effects certain bills then before the legislature would have on local school programs.
57. Without being asked, made suggestions to my professional association regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems.
58. Was asked by my professional association for information regarding the effects certain bills then before the legislature would have on local programs.

If asked, informed my professional association of the effects certain bills then before the legislature would have on local school programs.

59. Was asked by the State Department of Education to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems.

If asked, suggested possible legislation to solve particular school problems.

60. Informed the State Department of Education of the effects of certain laws on local school programs.
61. Was asked by the State Department of Education for information regarding the effects certain bills then before the legislature would have on local school programs.

If asked, informed the State Department of Education of the effects certain bills then before the legislature would have on local school programs.

62. Without being asked, made suggestions to the State Department of Education regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems.

63. Without being asked, informed the State Department of Education of the effects certain bills then before the legislature would have on local school programs.

Efforts to Keep Channels of Communication Open

10. Contributed to the election campaign fund of candidates for election to the legislature.
18. Publicly endorsed candidates for election to the legislature.
21. Circulated nominating petitions for candidates for election to the legislature.
24. Became a candidate for election to the legislature.
29. Invited "my" representative or senator to visit our schools to view certain programs in operation.
31. Took "my" representative or senator to lunch.
37. Attended social activities at which "my" representative or senator was present.
39. Visited the Capitol office of "my" representative or senator.
40. Invited "my" representative or senator to speak to a class or other group of students.
47. Publicly endorsed a candidate for election to the office of governor.
49. Visited the Capitol office of the governor or members of his staff.
51. Took members of the governor's staff to lunch.

APPENDIX F

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL SENT TO LEGISLATORS WITH THE
INFLUENTIAL BEHAVIOR INVENTORY (LEGISLATOR FORM)

1616 Cambria Drive
East Lansing, Michigan 48823

(Name of Senator or Representative)

As part of a research project through Michigan State University, I am making a study of the ways in which school superintendents get involved in educational policy making. 64 Michigan public school superintendents are involved in the study.

You have been identified by a participating superintendent as having represented his school district in the Legislature during the past 12 months. The name of the superintendent will be found on the attached questionnaire.

In order to complete the study, it is necessary for me to know how this superintendent's activity in the area of educational policy making at the state level is seen by the legislators representing his school district. That is the purpose of the questionnaire.

Included in the questionnaire are some statements about ways in which a superintendent might become involved in the policy making process. Please respond to each statement by indicating how frequently the superintendent has engaged in the described activity during the past 12 months.

ALL INFORMATION GIVEN WILL BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL. NEITHER YOUR NAME NOR YOUR PERSONAL OPINIONS WILL APPEAR AT ANY TIME IN THIS STUDY.

If you have questions, or desire more information, please do not hesitate to let me know. You'll find me in Room 123 (Senator VanderLaan's office), phone 3-0728. I would appreciate having you return the completed questionnaire at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Kenneth De Pree

PS: The letter in the lower left hand corner of the questionnaire indicates whether you have been identified by the superintendent as his Senator (S) or Representative (R). This information will be helpful in compiling the results.

APPENDIX G

FOLLOW-UP LETTER TO LEGISLATORS REGARDING THE INFLUENTIAL
BEHAVIOR INVENTORY (LEGISLATOR FORM)

Inside Address

Dear _____:

May I have your help?

Enclosed is a shortened version of the questionnaire which I sent you earlier. I'd very much appreciate having you take a few minutes to complete it.

I don't want to appear to "bug" you, however the project period is drawing to a close and I've about run out of time.

I'm hopeful you may see your way clear to complete this shortened version within the next few days.

Thanks,

Kenneth De Pree

PS: I work for Senator VanderLaan. The questionnaire can be returned to me there. If you have any questions, please give me a call--30797.

APPENDIX H

INFLUENTIAL BEHAVIOR INVENTORY (LEGISLATOR FORM)

INFLUENTIAL BEHAVIOR INVENTORY

Legislator Form

PURPOSE OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE:

On the following pages are some statements about ways in which a school superintendent might become involved in educational decision making at the state level. Each item describes a specific kind of activity, but it does not ask to judge whether the activity is desirable or undesirable.

Although some items may appear similar, each is a separate statement and should be considered a separate description.

There are no right or wrong answers. This is not a test of ability or consistency in making answers. Its only purpose is to make it possible for you to describe how you see the activity of _____, superintendent of the _____ school district during the past twelve (12) months.

NEITHER YOU, THE SUPERINTENDENT, NOR HIS SCHOOL DISTRICT WILL BE IDENTIFIED IN THE REPORTING OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY. ALL REPLIES WILL BE TREATED STATISTICALLY.

When you have completed the questionnaire, please return it to:

Kenneth De Pree
1616 Cambria Drive
East Lansing, Michigan 48823

A stamped, self addressed envelope has been provided for your convenience.

Directions: Draw a circle around one of the five choices (0 1-3 4-6 7-9 10-+) following each item to show how frequently the superintendent has engaged in the activity described by the item during the past 12 months.

0 = Never

1-3 = One to three times

4-6 = Four to six times

7-9 = Seven to nine times

10-+ = Ten or more times

Example: During the past 12 months
he never engaged in the
described activity..... (0) 1-3 4-6 7-9 10-+

Example: During the past 12 months
he engaged in the described
activity five times..... 0 1-3 (4-6) 7-9 10-+

DURING THE PAST 12 MONTHS, _____
Superintendent

Number of Times

- 1.--invited me to visit his district's schools and view certain programs in operation..... 0 1-3 4-6 7-9 10-+
- 2.--informed me of the effects of certain laws on local school programs..... 0 1-3 4-6 7-9 10-+
- 3.--without being asked, informed me of the effects certain bills then before the legislature would have on local school programs:
 - a. By telephone..... 0 1-3 4-6 7-9 10-+
 - b. By personal contact... 0 1-3 4-6 7-9 10-+
 - c. By letter..... 0 1-3 4-6 7-9 10-+
- 4.--invited me to discuss legislative topics with his board of education..... 0 1-3 4-6 7-9 10-+

DURING THE PAST 12 MONTHS,

SuperintendentNumber of Times

5.--publicly endorsed my candidacy for election to the legislature	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
6.--was asked by me for information regarding the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legisla- ture would have on local school programs.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
--if asked, informed me of the effects certain <u>bills</u> then before the legislature would have on local school programs	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
7.--visited my office in the Capitol.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
8.--invited me to speak to a class or other group of students.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
9.--was asked by me to suggest pos- sible legislation to solve particular school problems.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
--if asked, made suggestions to me for possible legislation to solve particular school problems.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
10.--took me to lunch.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
11.--requested that I take part in public meetings in which educa- tion issues requiring legisla- tive action were discussed.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
12.--circulated my nominating peti- tion for election to the legis- lature.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
13.--without being asked, made sug- gestions to me regarding pos- sible legislation to solve particular school problems.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
14.--publicized my voting record on certain education issues.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+

DURING THE PAST 12 MONTHS, _____
 Superintendent

Number of Times

15.--invited me to discuss education matters with other educators....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
16.--contributed to my election campaign fund.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
17.--came to the legislature to "lobby" on a particular education issue.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+
18.--attended social activities at which I was present.....	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-+

APPENDIX I

INFLUENTIAL BEHAVIOR INVENTORY (LEGISLATOR FORM)
ITEMS GROUPED BY GENERAL CATEGORY

INFLUENTIAL BEHAVIOR INVENTORY (LEGISLATOR FORM)
ITEMS GROUPED BY GENERAL CATEGORY¹

Direct Personal Communication

2. Informed me of the effects of certain laws on local school programs.
3. Without being asked, informed me of the effects certain bills then before the legislature would have on local school programs:
 - a. By telephone.
 - b. By personal contact.
 - c. By letter.
6. Was asked by me for information regarding the effects certain bills then before the legislature would have on local school programs.

If asked, informed me of the effects certain bills then before the legislature would have on local school programs.
9. Was asked by me to suggest possible legislation to solve particular school problems.

If asked, made suggestions to me for possible legislation to solve particular school problems.
13. Without being asked, made suggestions to me regarding possible legislation to solve particular school problems.
17. Came to the legislature to "lobby" on a particular education issue.

¹Milbrath and DeVries divided the total techniques of lobbying into three broad categories: (1) direct personal communication, (2) communication through intermediaries, and (3) keeping channels of communication open. See Lester W. Milbrath, "Lobbying as a Communication Process," Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring, 1960, pp. 32-53; and Walter D. De Vries, "The Michigan Lobbyist: A Study of the Bases and Perceptions of Effectiveness" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1960, pp. 142-209.

Communication Through Intermediaries

4. Invited me to discuss legislative topics with his board of education.
11. Requested that I take part in public meetings in which education issues requiring legislative action were discussed.
14. Publicized my voting record on certain education issues.
15. Invited me to discuss education matters with other educators.

Efforts to Keep Channels of Communication Open

1. Invited me to visit his district's schools and view certain programs in operation.
5. Publicly endorsed my candidacy for election to the legislature.
7. Visited my office in the Capitol.
8. Invited me to speak to a class or other group of students.
10. Took me to lunch.
12. Circulated my nominating petition for election to the legislature.
16. Contributed to my election campaign fund.
18. Attended social activities at which I was present.

APPENDIX J

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL SENT TO KEY NON-LEGISLATORS
WITH THE LEGISLATIVE DECISION MAKING INVENTORY

December 29, 1970

(Name)

I need your help.

As part of a study on school superintendents and the legislature, I am attempting to (1) identify those aspects of the legislative decision making process considered important for Michigan public school superintendents to know, and (2) determine the extent of the knowledge which they have of this process.

Enclosed is a copy of the questionnaire being developed for this purpose.

I would appreciate having you complete the questionnaire by responding to each item as follows:

1. Select the answer which most nearly describes the situation as it exists in the Michigan Legislature.

2. Indicate how important you believe it is for school superintendents to understand that particular aspect of the decision making process.

Directions for completing the questionnaire are given on the cover sheet.

Any comments or suggestions you may have regarding the questionnaire will be greatly appreciated.

Since it may be necessary for me to check back with you, your questionnaire has been marked with a number in the lower left hand corner. Please be assured, however, that only I know the name that goes with that number. You will not be identified in the study.

I would appreciate having you return the completed questionnaire at your earliest convenience. You can either send it to my home (1616 Cambria Drive, East Lansing, 48823) or to my office in the Capitol (c/o Sen. VanderLaan). If you have questions, give me a call (373-0728) or stop in.

Thanks! If I can help you at any time, don't hesitate to call on me.

Sincerely,

Kenneth De Pree

APPENDIX K

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL SENT TO LEGISLATIVE LEADERS
WITH THE LEGISLATIVE DECISION MAKING INVENTORY

Room 123, Senate
January 27, 1971

(Name of Senator or Representative)

May I have your help?

As part of a research project through Michigan State University, I am making a study of the knowledge which Michigan public school superintendents have of the legislative policy making process.

64 superintendents are taking part in the study; each has been asked to complete the attached questionnaire. The questions are based on suggestions from staff members of the legislature and executive office, and legislative agents, regarding aspects of the process the superintendents should generally know.

The questions have been asked, the superintendents' answers must now be "scored." In short, I need an "answer sheet." Your help is needed.

I would appreciate having you complete the questionnaire, indicating the correct answer for each question. The answer which you and other legislative leaders generally agree is correct will be the basis on which the superintendent's response to the question will be judged. If it is the same as yours it will be considered right, if not it will be considered wrong.

Please be assured that neither your name nor your personal opinions will be identified in the reporting of the results of this study.

I would appreciate having you complete and return the questionnaire at your earliest convenience. You can send it to me in Room 123 (Senator VanderLaan's office).

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Kenneth De Pree

APPENDIX L

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL SENT TO SUPERINTENDENTS WITH
THE LEGISLATIVE DECISION MAKING INVENTORY

1616 Cambria Drive
East Lansing, Michigan 48823

Inside Address

Dear _____:

Thank you for completing part one of the study regarding superintendents and the legislature. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

The enclosed questionnaire is the second (and final) part of this study. It consists of a series of questions about the legislative decision making process. Please answer them by selecting the response which most nearly describes how you think the situation exists in the Michigan Legislature.

For purposes of this study, you have been assigned a number--your number is marked in the upper left hand corner of the questionnaire. Please be assured, however, that neither you nor your school district will be identified in the results of this study. The only purpose of the number is to insure that the results of this questionnaire, as well as the previous one, are properly compiled.

When completing the questionnaire, do not dwell too long on any one item. Tests have shown that it will take you about 15 minutes.

Since only a few superintendents have been selected to take part in this study, every questionnaire is vitally important to the end results. I would appreciate your returning the completed questionnaire by February 5th. A stamped, self addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

Again, your cooperation is greatly appreciated. I will send you a summary of the results of this study as soon as they are available.

Best wishes!

Sincerely,

Kenneth R. De Pree
Project Director

APPENDIX M

FOLLOW-UP LETTER TO SUPERINTENDENTS REGARDING
THE LEGISLATIVE DECISION MAKING INVENTORY

1616 Cambria Drive
East Lansing, Michigan 48823

Inside Address

Dear _____:

Recently you received part 2 of the two part study regarding superintendents and the legislature. Included was a questionnaire for you to complete and return.

Since your completed questionnaire has not been received, I'm assuming it's been overlooked in the press of a busy school year.

Every questionnaire is vitally important; only a few superintendents have been selected to take part. Will you cooperate in this study by completing the enclosed questionnaire at your earliest convenience and returning it in the stamped, self addressed envelope provided for your use.

Your cooperation is greatly appreciated. I will send you a summary of the results of this study as soon as they are available.

Sincerely,

Kenneth R. De Pree
Project Director

APPENDIX N

LEGISLATIVE DECISION MAKING INVENTORY

LEGISLATIVE DECISION MAKING INVENTORY

INSTRUCTIONS:

On the following pages are some questions about the legislative decision making process in the Michigan Legislature. Please answer them by drawing a circle around one of the four letters (A B C D) following each item to show the answer you have selected.

A = Very Frequently

B = Often

C = Occasionally

D = Rarely

Do not dwell too long on any one item but select the answer which most nearly describes how you think the situation exists in the Michigan Legislature. Each item should be considered as a separate description.

MARK YOUR ANSWERS AS SHOWN IN THE EXAMPLES BELOW:

Example: The item Occasionally occurs
as described..... A B ☒ C D

Example: The item Very Frequently occurs
as described..... ☒ A B C D

Example: The item Rarely occurs as described A B C ☒ D

Example: The item Often occurs as described. A ☒ B C D

Please respond to each item.

Neither you nor your school district will be identified in the reporting of the results of this study. All replies will be treated statistically.

When you have completed the inventory, please return it to:

Kenneth De Pree
1616 Cambria Drive
East Lansing, Michigan 48823

A stamped, self addressed envelope has been provided for your convenience.

A	B	C	D
Very Frequently	Often	Occasionally	Rarely

Bills are introduced in the Michigan Legislature for the purpose of making new laws or repealing or amending existing laws. Upon its introduction, each bill is given a designation indicating its house of origin and a number.

Directions: Please answer the following questions by drawing a circle around one of the letters following each item to show the answer you have selected.

1. Bills introduced by influential legislators are likely to receive serious attention.... A B C D
2. The degree of interest the sponsor commits to a bill is a major factor in determining its chance of passage..... A B C D
3. Proposals which are part of the governor's legislative program are drawn up in the form of ordinary bills and introduced by members of the legislature..... A B C D
4. A legislator will not introduce a bill unless he believes it will receive the support of a majority of the legislators..... A B C D
5. The choice of sponsor is an important one for interest groups desiring to have proposals introduced..... A B C D

- - - - -

All bills introduced in the Michigan Legislature are referred to a standing committee by the presiding officer of the chamber.

Directions: Please answer the following question by drawing a circle around one of the letters following the item to show the answer you have selected.

1. Bills are referred to the standing committee that most appropriately deals with the subject matter of the bill..... A B C D

- - - - -

In the Michigan Legislature there are 32 standing committees in the House of Representatives and 14 in the Senate.

Directions: Please answer the following questions by drawing a circle around one of the letters following each item to show the answer you have selected.

A	B	C	D
Very Frequently	Often	Occasionally	Rarely

12. Legislative party leaders influence decision making within the committee..... A B C D

- - - - -

Hearings are held by the standing committees of the Michigan Legislature. Hearings are committee sessions for listening to witnesses.

Directions: Please answer the following questions by drawing a circle around one of the letters following each item to show the answer you have selected.

1. Hearings are the principal means employed by standing committees to secure facts and opinions as a basis for committee action on the bills referred to them..... A B C D
2. Hearings are held at the request of individuals or groups outside the legislature. A B C D
3. Committees give the appearance of listening to testimony, of weighing facts, of considering data, but in reality committee decisions are predetermined..... A B C D
4. Standing committees use hearings to:
 - a. Generate public support or opposition to a bill..... A B C D
 - b. Provide interested parties with an opportunity to make their views known A B C D
 - c. Obtain detailed knowledge and understanding of a proposal..... A B C D
5. Committees notify persons known to be interested in a bill when a hearing on the bill is scheduled..... A B C D
6. Sponsors, proponents and opponents of controversial legislation solicit votes from committee members prior to committee hearings..... A B C D

- - - - -

All bills ready for floor action are listed on the chamber's legislative calendar.

Directions: Please answer the following questions by drawing a circle around one of the letters following each item to show the answer you have selected.

1. Leaders of the majority party determine priorities of bills to be considered on the floor..... A B C D

- - - - -

The process of statute lawmaking in the Michigan Legislature involves passage of a specific bill by the chamber. The votes of a majority of those elected and serving are generally required, however action on certain matters requires the votes of 2/3.

Directions: Please answer the following questions by drawing a circle around one of the letters following each item to show the answer you have selected.

1. On matters not directly affecting their major concerns, legislators rely on the judgment of colleagues they consider informed and reliable..... A B C D
2. Legislative decisions are essentially agreements between legislators, the governor, and representatives of groups affected by the bill..... A B C D
3. Speeches on the floor persuade legislators how to vote..... A B C D
4. Proponents and opponents of a measure "work the floor" of the chamber in an effort to obtain the votes of their colleagues..... A B C D
5. Legislators consider the political ramifications of their vote..... A B C D
6. Negotiations between supporters and opponents of controversial bills are carried on outside of the legislative chambers and committee rooms..... A B C D
7. Major controversial issues are decided on the basis of such factors as sectional interests, economic interests, or personal loyalties..... A B C D

	A	B	C	D
	Very Frequently	Often	Occasionally	Rarely
8. Legislators support their colleagues' bills if there is no objectionable effect on their own districts.....				
	A	B	C	D
9. Legislators trade their vote on contested bills for support for their own bills....				
	A	B	C	D
10. Because of differences in constituencies, legislators have conflicting preferences regarding the best solution to problems on which particular bills are based.....				
	A	B	C	D
11. On matters of other than the highest state importance, legislators vote the way they believe will win them support in their home district.....				
	A	B	C	D
12. Bills divide the members of the legislature along party lines.....				
	A	B	C	D

- - - - -

The Michigan Legislature consists of two chambers--the House of Representatives and the Senate. Actions of the Legislature require the consent of both.

Directions: Please answer the following questions by drawing a circle around one of the letters following each item to show the answer you have selected.

1. Bills die if not approved by both chambers during the two year term of the House of Representatives..... A B C D
2. The majority party in each chamber is in a position to dominate the legislative process in that chamber..... A B C D
3. It is easier for a legislator to pass his bill in his own chamber than to have the other chamber pass it..... A B C D
4. Even though the parties take conflicting positions on a bill the vote on that bill may not reflect the disagreement because compromises are devised that make possible a bipartisan or non-partisan vote..... A B C D

A	B	C	D
Very Frequently	Often	Occasionally	Rarely

5. When a bill passes the Senate and House in different versions and neither chamber is willing to accept the other's version, the differences are adjusted by a conference committee..... A B C D

- - - - -

Persons and groups who are not members of the Michigan Legislature may be influential in the legislative process.

Directions: Please answer the following questions by drawing a circle around one of the letters following each item to show the answer you have selected.

1. The legislator solicits the support of interested groups for a bill which he is promoting..... A B C D
2. The administration party unites in support of bills to which the governor is strongly committed..... A B C D
3. Legislative agents provide technical information on bills..... A B C D
4. Legislators look to the governor to recommend ways of securing needed revenue rather than offer bills providing for tax increases on their own..... A B C D
5. The responsibility for stimulating intense legislative activity on a bill rests with the interested group..... A B C D
6. Ideas for new bills and amendments to old bills come from interest groups..... A B C D
7. Legislators encourage competing interest groups to reach a friendly resolution of differences and then return to the legislature for ratification of the agreement..... A B C D
8. Major bills must have the support of the governor if they are to receive serious consideration from the legislature..... A B C D

APPENDIX O

LEGISLATIVE DECISION MAKING INVENTORY QUESTIONS
LISTED IN ORDER OF DIFFICULTY

LEGISLATIVE DECISION MAKING INVENTORY QUESTIONS
LISTED IN ORDER OF DIFFICULTY

Question	Correct Response	Number of Correct Responses (N = 60)
The choice of sponsor is an important one for interest groups desiring to have proposals introduced.	VF/O ^a	60
Legislative party leaders influence decision making within the committee.	VF/O	59
Legislators consider the political ramifications of their vote.	VF/O	58
Bills introduced by influential legislators are likely to receive serious attention.	VF/O	57
Bills are referred to the standing committee that most appropriately deals with the subject matter of the bill.	VF/O	57
The majority party in each chamber is in a position to dominate the legislative process in that chamber.	VF/O	57
The chamber forces bills out of committees which refuse to act on them.	O/R ^b	56
On matters not directly affecting their major concerns, legislators rely on the judgment of colleagues they consider informed and reliable.	VF/O	55
		continued

^aVery Frequently/Often

^bOccasionally/Rarely

APPENDIX O--continued

Question	Correct Response	Number of Correct Responses (N = 60)
On matters of other than the highest state importance, legislators vote the way they believe will win them support in their home district.	VF/O	55
Committee work is more important than debate and activity on the floor.	VF/O	54
Major controversial issues are decided on the basis of such factors as sectional interests, economic interests, or personal loyalties.	VF/O	53
Negotiations between supporters and opponents of controversial bills are carried on outside of the legislative chambers and committee rooms.	VF/O	52
The chairman decides which of the bills referred to his committee will receive committee consideration.	VF/O	52
Legislative agents provide technical information on bills.	VF/O	52
Legislators support their colleagues' bills if there is no objectionable effect on their own districts.	VF/O	51
It is easier for a legislator to pass his bill in his own chamber than to have the other chamber pass it.	VF/O	51
The degree of interest the sponsor commits to a bill is a major factor in determining its chance of passage.	VF/O	51

continued

APPENDIX O--continued

Question	Correct Response	Number of Correct Responses (N = 60)
The legislator solicits the support of interested groups for a bill which he is promoting.	VF/O	50
Speeches on the floor persuade legislators how to vote.	O/R	50
When a bill passes the Senate and House in different versions and neither chamber is willing to accept the other's version, the differences are adjusted by a conference committee.	VF/O	49
Because of differences in constituencies, legislators have conflicting preferences regarding the best solution to problems on which particular bills are based.	VF/O	49
The administration party unites in support of bills to which the governor is strongly committed.	VF/O	49
Committee amendments are intended to meet the objections of groups affected by the proposed legislation.	VF/O	49
Leaders of the majority party determine priorities of bills to be considered on the floor.	VF/O	48
Bills which involve expenditure of state funds are referred to the Appropriations Committee after favorable action in the standing committee concerned with the subject matter of the bill.	VF/O	46
continued		

APPENDIX O--continued

Question	Correct Response	Number of Correct Responses (N = 60)
Ideas for new bills and amendments to old bills come from interest groups.	VF/O	46
Proponents and opponents of a measure "work the floor" of the chamber in an effort to obtain the votes of their colleagues.	VF/O	46
Standing committees use hearings to provide interested parties with an opportunity to make their views known.	VF/O	46
Even though the parties take conflicting positions on a bill the vote on that bill may not reflect the disagreement because compromises are devised that make possible a bi-partisan or nonpartisan vote.	VF/O	45
Hearings are the principal means employed by standing committees to secure facts and opinions as a basis for committee action on the bills referred to them.	VF/O	44
The responsibility for stimulating intense legislative activity on a bill rests with the interested party.	VF/O	44
Sponsors, proponents and opponents of controversial legislation solicit votes from committee members prior to committee hearings.	VF/O	43
Standing committees use hearings to generate public support or opposition to a bill.	VF/O	43

continued

APPENDIX O--continued

Question	Correct Response	Number of Correct Responses (N = 60)
Committees expect the sponsor to either demonstrate that his bill has provoked no opposition, or to provide arguments that will serve as justification for his colleagues votes.	VF/O	43
Bills die if not approved by both chambers during the two year term of the House of Representatives.	VF/O	42
A legislator will not introduce a bill unless he believes it will receive the support of a majority of the legislators.	O/R	42
Efforts to defeat or modify a bill are confined within the committee itself; once a decision is reached by the committee those members who voted otherwise accept this decision and do not carry their case to the floor.	O/R	39
Proposals which are part of the governor's legislative program are drawn up in the form of ordinary bills and introduced by members of the legislature.	VF/O	37
If it appears there is a better solution to a problem than that proposed by a specific bill, committees trim, polish and tinker with the details of the original bill rather than drop the bill and start over.	VF/O	37
Legislative decisions are essentially agreements between legislators, the governor, and representatives of the groups affected by the bill.	VF/O	37

continued

APPENDIX O---continued

Question	Correct Response	Number of Correct Responses (N = 60)
Major bills must have the support of the governor if they are to receive serious consideration from the legislature.	VF/O	36
Committees notify persons known to be interested in a bill when a hearing on the bill is scheduled.	VF/O	36
Committees give the appearance of listening to testimony, of weighing facts, of considering data, but in reality committee decisions are predetermined.	O/R	35
By the time a committee reports a bill to the chamber much of the controversy has been removed from the bill.	VF/O	34
Committees negotiate directly with spokesmen for groups affected by the proposed legislation.	VF/O	34
The concept "died in committee" may in fact mean no effort was made by the sponsor to bring the bill to the floor.	VF/O	32
Standing committees use hearings to obtain detailed knowledge and understanding of a proposal.	VF/O	30
Legislators look to the governor to recommend ways of securing needed revenue rather than offer bills providing for tax increases on their own.	VF/O	30

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continued

APPENDIX O--continued

Question	Correct Response	Number of Correct Responses (N = 60)
Legislators encourage competing interest groups to reach a friendly resolution of differences and then return to the legislature for ratification of the agreement.	VF/O	22
Hearings are held at the request of individuals or groups outside the legislature.	VF/O	16
Legislators trade their vote on contested bills for support for their own bills.	O/R	9
Bills divide the members of the legislature along party lines.	O/R	7

APPENDIX P

HOW A BILL BECOMES A LAW

HOW A BILL BECOMES A LAW

Step 1

Bill is filed for introduction with Clerk of the House or Secretary of the Senate.

Bill is introduced in either house of the Legislature.

Step 2

Bill receives 1st and 2nd reading in the house in which it is introduced (brief reading of title of the bill).

Step 3

Bill is referred to proper committee by House Speaker or Senate President. (All bills involving the appropriation of money must go to the Appropriations Committee in the Senate or the House, after being considered by the proper committee.)

Step 4

Committee considers bill:

1. Public hearings may be held.
2. Discussion and debate is conducted by committee members.
3. Voting records regarding committee action are available to the public for inspection.

Step 5

Committee may act on a bill in various ways:

1. Original bill reported with favorable recommendation.
2. Original bill with recommended committee amendments reported out.
3. Substitute bill in place of original bill reported out.
- 4. Bill with adverse recommendation reported out.
- 5. Bill without recommendation reported out.
- 6. Bill reported out without recommendation and with amendments.
7. Bill reported out with the recommendation that it be referred to another committee.
8. Postpone action indefinitely.
9. The bill is tabled.
10. Committee may refuse to take action on a bill. The bill would then die in committee except in odd numbered years when it is considered a carry over bill and would be alive the next session.

H.—applies only to House.

S.—applies only to Senate.

••In these cases, the bill is tabled on the floor. A majority vote of the members elected and serving is required before the bill may be given further consideration.

11. Bill may be defeated in committee. In this case, the bill will not be reported out to the floor.

A committee may be discharged from consideration of a bill and the bill forced to the floor by a vote of a majority of the members elected and serving the house in which it is being considered. Prior notice of at least one day must be given to the Clerk of the House specifying the date on which the motion to discharge is to be made.

Step 6

If bill is reported out either favorably with amendment or substitute bill, Clerk or Secretary of appropriate house places bill and the committee report under the order of business "Reports of the Standing Committees." Bill and the amendments of the committee (if any) are then placed on the General Orders Calendar for consideration. A bill may also be made a special order of business on general orders or 3rd reading at a specified date.^H No bill shall be passed by either house or become law until printed and in possession of each house for at least five days.

Step 7

The Senate or the House then resolves itself into the Committee of the Whole. No roll call votes are taken in the Committee of the Whole. Unlimited debate may be conducted on the proposal at this step. The body then proceeds to consider the recommendations of the standing committee on the bill. In acting on the bill, the Committee has the same options regarding recommended action on a bill as the standing committee. (See Step 5) Amendments to the bill may be offered by any member. A simple majority of members present and voting at the session of the Committee of the Whole may adopt amendments to a bill.

Step 8

The Committee of the Whole is dissolved and the house returns to formal procedures. A majority of the members elected to and serving in the house is required to concur in recommendations made by the Committee of the Whole. The full house may approve the entire bill or accept or reject any or all of the amendments recommended by the Committee of the Whole. The bill may also be tabled or referred back to the original or another committee at this point.

Step 9

The bill then receives its third reading. Entire bill is read in the Senate unless unanimous consent is given to consider bill read. The bill is read in its entirety in the House unless four-fifths of the members present consent to consider bill read. The previous question may be moved and debate cut off by a vote of a majority of the members present and voting. In the House, a motion to close debate must have a minimum of ten sponsors. Amendments, following third reading, must be approved by a vote of a majority of the members elected and serving. In the Senate, amendments on third reading, must be seconded by a majority vote and approved by a majority of members elected and serving.

Step 10

Vote held on final passage of the bill:

1. Passed by a majority of the members elected to and serving in the house on a roll call vote.
2. Defeated unless a majority of the members elected to and serving in the house vote favorably.
3. Returned to a committee for further consideration.
4. Postponed indefinitely or made a special order of business on a specified date.^H
5. Tabled.
6. Reconsideration.
When a legislator gives notice to reconsider a bill, the bill must be held in the House or Senate until the next legislative day.

Step 11

If the bill passes, it is sent to the other house of the Legislature where the procedure regarding committee assignment, committee consideration, etc. is similar. (See Steps 1-10)

A bill may be requested to be returned by the other house at this step by a majority of those voting.

Step 12

1. Bill may be passed by both houses in identical form and is ordered enrolled and sent to the Governor by the house in which the bill originated.
2. Bill may pass in different forms and then must be returned to the house of origin.
 - a. Amendments or substitute bill may be accepted in house of origin and then enrolled and sent to the Governor.

- b. Amendments or proposal may be referred to the house of origin and conference committee composed of members from both houses must confer and reach agreement.
3. Bill may be rejected.

Step 13

1. Conference committee to compromise between the two versions of the bill. It can reach a compromise and reach a compromise report to both houses. If the committee report is not received by both houses, the bill is sent to the Governor. If the report is not received by both houses, the bill is sent to the Governor. If the report is not received by both houses, the bill is sent to the Governor.

Step 14

1. Governor may sign the bill. If he does not sign it within ten days after session adjourns, it becomes law. If he vetoes it, the bill returns to the Legislature. If he signs it, it becomes law.
2. Governor may veto the bill. If he does so, the bill returns to the Legislature. If he signs it, it becomes law.
3. The Governor may sign or veto the bill. If he signs it, it becomes law. If he vetoes it, the bill returns to the Legislature.
4. The bill may be returned for additional action upon agreement of both houses.

Step 15

1. Legislature may pass a bill by two-thirds vote of both houses.
2. Bill may not require a two-thirds vote and thus die.
3. Bill may be tabled and attempt to override veto.

HOW A BILL BECOMES A LAW

11. Bill may be defeated in committee. In this case, the bill will not be reported out to the floor.

A committee may be discharged from consideration of a bill and the bill forced to the floor by a vote of a majority of the members elected and serving the house in which it is being considered. Prior notice of at least one day must be given to the Clerk of the House specifying the date on which the motion to discharge is to be made.

Step 6

If bill is reported out either favorably with amendment or substitute bill, Clerk or Secretary of appropriate house places bill and the committee report under the order of business "Reports of the Standing Committees." Bill and the amendments of the committee (if any) are then placed on the General Orders Calendar for consideration. A bill may also be made a special order of business on general orders or 3rd reading at a specified date.^H No bill shall be passed by either house or become law until printed and in possession of each house for at least five days.

Step 7

The Senate or the House then resolves itself into the Committee of the Whole. No roll call votes are taken in the Committee of the Whole. Unlimited debate may be conducted on the proposal at this step. The body then proceeds to consider the recommendations of the standing committee on the bill. In acting on the bill, the Committee has the same options regarding recommended action on a bill as the standing committee. (See Step 5) Amendments to the bill may be offered by any member. A simple majority of members present and voting at the session of the Committee of the Whole may adopt amendments to a bill.

Step 8

The Committee of the Whole is dissolved and the house returns to formal procedures. A majority of the members elected to and serving in the house is required to concur in recommendations made by the Committee of the Whole. The full house may approve the entire bill or accept or reject any or all of the amendments recommended by the Committee of the Whole. The bill may also be tabled or referred back to the original or another committee at this point.

Step 9

The bill then receives its third reading. Entire bill is read in the Senate unless unanimous consent is given to consider bill read. The bill is read in its entirety in the House unless four-fifths of the members consent to consider bill read. The previous question may be moved and debate cut off by a vote of a majority of the members present and voting. In the House, a motion to close debate must have a minimum of ten sponsors. Amendments, following third reading, must be approved by a vote of a majority of the members elected and serving. In the Senate, amendments on third reading, must be seconded by a majority vote and approved by a majority of members elected and serving.

Step 10

Vote held on final passage of the bill:

1. Passed by a majority of the members elected to and serving in the house on a roll call vote.
2. Defeated unless a majority of the members elected to and serving in the house vote favorably.
3. Returned to a committee for further consideration.
4. Postponed indefinitely or made a special order of business on a specified date.^H
5. Tabled.
6. Reconsideration. When a legislator gives notice to reconsider a bill, the bill must be held in the House or Senate until the next legislative day.

Step 11

If the bill passes, it is sent to the other house of the Legislature where the procedure regarding committee assignment, committee consideration, etc. is similar. (See Steps 1-10)

A bill may be requested to be returned by the other house at this step by a majority of those voting.

Step 12

1. Bill may be passed by both houses in identical form and is ordered enrolled and sent to the Governor by the house in which the bill originated.
2. Bill may pass in different forms and then must be returned to the house of origin.
 - a. Amendments or substitute bill may be accepted in house of origin and then enrolled and sent to the Governor.

- b. Amendments or substitute proposal may be rejected in the house of origin and then sent to conference committee. (Special committee composed of legislators from both houses.) Both houses must consent to each conference committee report.
3. Bill may be rejected.

Step 13

1. Conference committee attempts to compromise differences between the two versions of the bill. It can consider only amendments not agreed upon.
 - a. Conference committee may reach a compromise and submit a report to both houses of the Legislature. If the conference committee report is approved by both houses, the bill is enrolled and sent to the Governor. If the report is not agreed upon, there are a number of alternatives. The joint rules provide for various courses of action to arrive at agreement.

Step 14

1. Governor may sign bill, which will then become law ninety days after session adjourns sine die, or at some other time specified in the bill. A bill becomes law at the time the Governor signs the bill, if both houses have given the bill immediate effect by a two-thirds vote of the members elected to and serving in each house.
2. Governor may veto bill. The bill then returns to the house in which it originated with a message stating the Governor's objections.
3. The Governor may choose not to sign or veto bill. The act then becomes law 14 days after it has reached the Governor's desk. If the Legislature should adjourn sine die before the 14 days, the unsigned bill does not become law.
4. The bill may be requested to be returned for additional consideration upon agreement of both houses.

Step 15

1. Legislature may override veto by two-thirds vote of members elected and serving in both houses.
2. Bill may not receive necessary votes and thus die.
3. Bill may be tabled pending an attempt to override veto.

APPENDIX Q

PASSAGE OF A LEGISLATIVE BILL

PASSAGE OF A LEGISLATIVE BILL . . . a complicated procedure

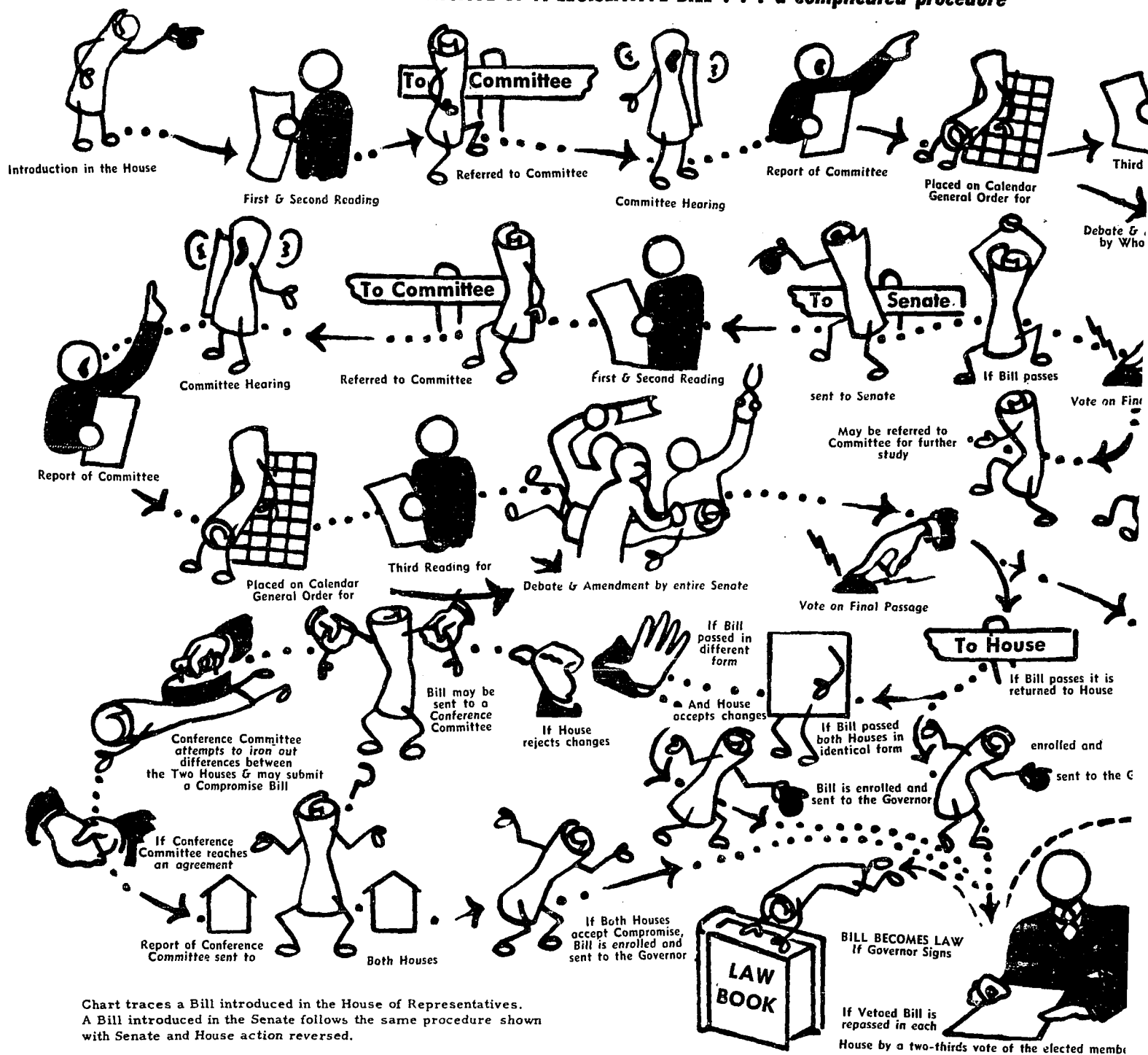
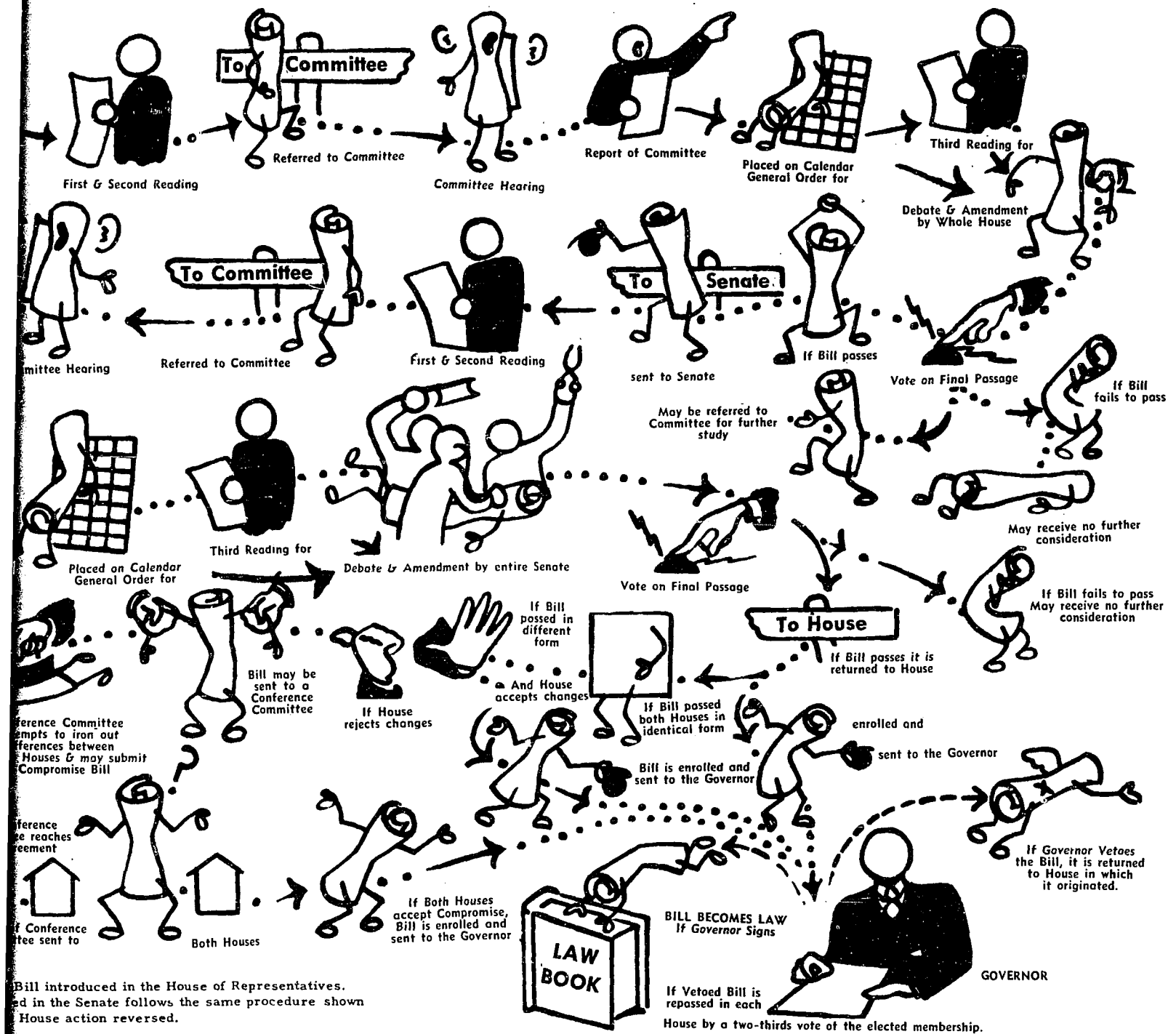


Chart traces a Bill introduced in the House of Representatives. A Bill introduced in the Senate follows the same procedure shown with Senate and House action reversed.

Prepared by the **LEGISLATIVE SERVICE BUREAU**

PASSAGE OF A LEGISLATIVE BILL . . . a complicated procedure



APPENDIX R

NEWS RELEASE: THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

Rep. Clifford H. Smart
Minority Leader
Michigan House of Representatives

March 17, 1971

I mentioned, in my last column, that today's state legislator must serve his constituents in two basic ways: in a problem-solving, information-providing and red-tape-cutting capacity; and in his traditional role of lawmaker, which has expanded to the point where he is expected to have a "working" knowledge of up to 5,000 bills and resolutions in a single term.

Obviously, no individual, no matter how capable or gifted, could have a detailed, in-depth understanding of all the potentialities and ramifications of such a massive amount of legislation.

This is why the committee system exists, and why it is frequently termed the "backbone" of the legislative process.

The thousands of bills and resolutions that are introduced in the Michigan Legislature are assigned, after an initial reading, to one of 33 committees in the House or 14 committees in the Senate. (Various additional special committees, joint committees and interim committees exist for other purposes.) At meetings that are open to the public, and at which interested citizens are frequently invited to testify, the individual committee gives each assignment measure the thorough degree of examination, discussion and debate that the entire body could not possibly provide.

What must a committee chairman or member look for in studying a proposed piece of legislation? Essentially, he must ask himself three vital questions:

1) What does the bill do? Exactly what does it change, and what are the ramifications of that change?

2) Why is the bill needed? What problem does it solve? What injustice or deficiency or inequity does it strive to correct?

3) How much will the proposed change cost, if anything, and where will the money come from? Are the predictable benefits really worth the price? Are there hidden costs in the proposal, or fiscal implications for future years?

Sometimes the answers to all these questions are obvious enough to be gained from a brief reading of the bill. Sometimes extensive research is indicated, and the committee must postpone its decision on the measure until after the "interim" period between sessions, when the time for more thorough study is available.

We sometimes hear or read of a committee chairman "sitting" on an important piece of legislation, or a key bill being "bottled up" in a committee. But the fact is that committee members can vote to overrule a chairman and force consideration of any measure. And either house of the Legislature can vote to "discharge" a committee from further consideration of a bill, bringing it before the full body.

When a committee decides to "report out" a measure, most often after striving to improve it with various

recommended changes or "amendments," it goes through discussion and debate in a second and third reading by the full House or Senate, during which both the committee amendments and any others proposed by members are voted upon by the entire body. Once passed in the "house of origin," Senate bills go to House committees and House bills go to Senate committees for a repetition of the same painstaking process.

If the two houses disagree on the final form a measure should take, a special "conference" committee containing members of both is appointed to iron out the differences. And when a bill is finally approved by a majority vote of both houses, it can still be rejected or "vetoed" by the Governor, in which case it requires a two-thirds vote of both houses to become law.

In this brief review of the legislative process, there are two basic points I might stress:

First, the changing of any law or the creation of a new law is, and should be, a lengthy and difficult task, with repeated safeguards against the possibility of hasty or whimsical decisions.

Second, your elected legislator can consult with the best expertise available--on the legislative staffs, in the various departments of state governments, in our major universities, and elsewhere. He can listen to the arguments of his colleagues, of the agents and officials who represent

numerous groups and professions, and of the numerous citizens who write or phone him. He can determine the opinions of those he serves with questionnaires and polls.

But in the last analysis, guided by all of this and by his own conscience, he and he alone must make the decisions that determine the course of state government.

It is for this ultimate and essential responsibility, which cannot be subrogated or delegated, that you, the citizens he serves, passed judgment upon his qualifications and employed him at the polls last November.

APPENDIX S

NEWS RELEASE: THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

Senator Robert VanderLaan
Booth Newspapers Column--5/5/71
For Release Saturday, May 8, 1971

Who does the state legislator really represent?
Does he reflect solely the views of the majority in his district or does he represent his entire constituency?

If he is a Republican, does he represent the Republicans only in his district? If he is the Republican leader, does he automatically endorse all policies of the Governor? Does he express only the views of those who write in letters or deliver petitions? Does he represent the thinking of the whole state or just his own opinions?

How does he finally arrive at his decisions on vital state issues?

During meetings with constituents, these questions are frequently asked the legislator. Aware that each lawmaker's vote is crucial, our citizens want to know exactly how their legislators make up their minds on issues that ultimately affect many residents of our state.

Although the most politically appealing reply may be, "I always vote with the majority of my constituents," this answer is no longer reliable nor credible in our modern-day representative democracy. As a result of our increased population and the growing complexity of government, the New England town meeting democracy in which each citizen was aware of the issues and could cast his vote is

no longer possible. Even the legislator, who is in daily contact with state government, finds it difficult to keep pace with the many thousands of bills and amendments introduced each legislative session.

Today's state legislator must be more than solely a reflector of the opinions of the people back in his district. He must be more than a human adding machine who tallies the "pros and cons" and then jumps off the fence to join the largest group.

The crucial issues facing the Legislature today are far too complex to be boiled down to a simple "yes" or "no" answer. Many viewpoints, in addition to those of the legislator's constituency, must be considered before a final decision can be reached, such as the general attitude of the citizens across the state, the petitions a legislator may receive, letters and phone calls to his office and, often of utmost importance, his own personal knowledge about the issue. Whether he is a Republican or a Democrat, the legislator will generally ask himself if the issue meshes with the ideology of his respective party and, if he is a Republican, with the policies of the Governor.

All of these additional viewpoints offer the legislator a wider perspective on the issues, bringing to light the many ramifications of a decision that might otherwise go unconsidered and making him more confident that his final decision is the right one, one that will benefit all the residents of our state.

One particular issue which well illustrates this point is the Governor's sweeping proposal to eliminate the property tax for school operation and to shift the burden of support for education to the state income tax. Basically, I support this proposal, but I cannot allow my final decision to be based solely upon the approval this measure has received from property and homeowners across the state. I must also consider the inherent problems of this proposal, such as how the state will control and disburse funds to school districts, the possible negative effects of our fluctuating economy, the possible breakdown of competition among school districts, and the general workability of the program, brought to my attention by my colleagues in the Legislature, school administrators and my own experience in education.

Presumably, the legislator is elected because the people have confidence in his judgment. My colleagues and I cannot expect our constituents to agree with our decision on every issue, just as our constituents cannot expect their legislators always to vote the way they would have voted. A favorable balance, however, reflects a responsive legislator and a well-informed public.

The legislator has been given the right to cast his vote on behalf of the citizens of our state. It is his decision--he has to live with it and oftentimes, defend it. The more knowledgeable he is, the more confident he will be that he has voted in your best interests.